

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos.*

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News of the Week.

MINISTERS have proceeded thus far in the earlier stages of their career, with a fatal facility: no obstruction has arisen; those of them who are commoners are re-elected, as a matter of course; they encounter not even the resistance which is due to a formidable party advancing from opposition to power; pledged to subvert the established policy of a trading country, in matters of trade, they enter upon the possession of office, and the country scarce takes heed of the event. They may well fear for the possibility of restoring their master principle, when its champions are as harmless as flies in the regard of the public. Opportunity crows them, and their addresses, with one exception, are an amusing avoidance of the very subject that they were expected to expound!

The "one exception," who has uttered the compromising words, is Robert Adam Christopher, a guest of M. Bonaparte the other day, now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He has, in effect, told the farmers of Lincolnshire, that he has accepted office on the distinct conviction that the free-trade policy will be reversed. So far good. Mr. Benjamin Disraeli is more oracular in his announcements, but scarcely less significant. He hopes, at "no distant day, with the concurrence of the country, to establish a policy"—not of protection, but in conformity with the principles of the opposition. Mr. Henley has shown even more tact than his leader. A simple, clear, barren statement of the plainest facts, respecting the exit of the late, and the entrance of the present ministry to power, suffices for him. He says nothing of policy for near or distant days. He is mute. Sir John Pakington is quite as reserved. Each and all, except Mr. Christopher, avoid pledging themselves to restore protection; and the public are as far from knowing the real intentions of Ministers as they are from seeing the North pole.

In striking contrast with the attitude of the Minister candidates is that of the guardians of free trade. The Anti-Corn-League has re-established itself at Manchester, and re-exists in full possession of a staff, an exchequer, and a Cobden. It boasts of 27,000l., subscribed in twenty-five minutes, and of the "unadorned eloquence" with prestige added to all its original vigour. Peel indeed has gone; but instead of Peel, there is the People, which has learned the practicability and blessings of unrestricted trade in food; while Pro-

tection has lost all the ablest men, with one or two illustrious exceptions—has lost the great body of agricultural labourers—has lost the confidence even of farmers. At Manchester the League re-exists, vivid, wealthy, organized, ready, uncompromising. At Aylesbury, Mr. Disraeli is inexplicit, unready, not uncompromising; all his colleagues are singing the same equivocal song—save Christopher, who lets the cat out of the bag in an amusing style. He divulges the astounding fact, that after all his colleagues *really* are Protectionists—when everybody thought they were only shamming! And yet, somehow, instead of being frightened at Christopher's indiscreet disclosure, people only laugh the more.

Certain Protectionists, indeed, are beyond tempering; and the *Standard*—which could not believe in Peel's defection, which has itself counselled deliberation in restoring Protection, which cordially believes with Christopher that the policy is to be restored—is very indignant at the insolence of the Anti-Corn-League in re-existing; and it threatens the manufacturers with a social revolution of Labour against Capital.

Strange to say, the prophetic *Standard* is not far wrong in fact, though it is in spirit. The social change has not only begun, but has already made no small progress; as our readers will find from the proceedings of the Amalgamated Engineers. A meeting was held at St. Martin's Hall, on Thursday evening, to which the council of the society had invited, not only their own trades, but all the trades of the metropolis, with a view of forming a *general* union, and of carrying on with increased vigour the experiment of self-employment in co-operative workshops. The great hall was crammed in every part with working men, representatives of the metropolitan trades; representatives of those trades sat on the platform; on the same platform were several leading men of the Social Reform party; the chairman was Vansittart Neale. The meeting was unanimous, not only in its votes, but in the feeling that was manifest in the interesting field of human countenances, in the spontaneous cheers that came quick and ringing from the breasts of the working men, on the instant recognition of every pregnant fact advanced by the speakers. The cruel effects of "cheapness," its debasement of the working men and their dependents, its cheating of the purchaser in "scampering" work, were exposed. It will be perceived, however, that the object of these men is, as one of them said, "not destruction, but construction." That is the point on which this contest differs

from others: it seeks to be self-supporting by being reproductive. The fairness, the ability, the moderation, displayed by the man who ought to be one of the first members that any working constituency puts into Parliament—the high and dignified sentiments put forth by the other speakers, could not be surpassed—are seldom equalled. In a chivalrous courage, an unselfish generosity, a desire for the general good even more than individual gain, the working men set the true example to the degenerate "gentlemen" of our day. Here lies their strength: such men cannot be vanquished.

An infusion of that generous spirit is needed to make more than one political movement advance with equal vigour. The Parliamentary Reform Association had to contend with an untoward division of councils in that same hall the night before. The Association is practical in its views, its leading men are active and steadfast, some of them are bold and generous in sentiment; and yet it failed to possess that perfect mastery of the ground which the Amalgamated Society possessed. We know that the contrast does scanty justice to the real promoters of the movement: but it is inevitable. It appeared from the reports of the delegates of the provincial associations that much active business is done by the society; it is acquiring a useful influence; but its influence is not absolute, its business funds need recruiting. Its source of weakness is to be found in the more timid portion of its members, who evidently hold it back. Its success is always proportioned to its boldness: it was a remarkable characteristic of the best speakers—we mean the most practical and hearty of its delegates, as well as its more professed orators—that they were almost uniformly the furthest advanced, many of them avowedly "Chartists." What does that mean? what does it not indicate!

The "intimate personal friend" of our Tory Foreign Secretary has been very busy carrying out "another free and sincere expression of the people's will," as the elections of Government nominees are called, in the fine jargon of Napoleonism. "No compulsion, only you must," familiarly describes the operation. On this occasion, however, it is only fair to say that the cynicism surpassed the hypocrisy of the proceedings. Lying is now a sacred principle of government in France. When the Jesuits shall have fairly got hold of the education of the country, this "sacred principle" will of course be applied "ad majorem Dei gloriam." For the present, it

[COUNTRY EDITION.]

is content to minister to Louis Bonaparte. The law itself is made a lie.

The election of General Cavaignac for an aristocratic and monied *arrondissement* indicates the feeling of the Haute Bourgeoisie. They are already beginning to read a lesson of distrust and hate to the power from which all prosperity was expected to flow. In another *arrondissement*, where the working population is most numerous, the name of Carnot shows the Republic to be yet a remembrance and a hope.

For the rest, the legislative corps will be but faintly streaked with opposition. Why should there be any opposition in a chamber of mutes? Many of the Government nominees were so far from respectable, that honest men refused to be sullied by contact—even with their names. The sole right, says Louis Bonaparte, which the people reserve to themselves, is the free election of a legislative body; i.e., to vote their own suicide, periodically. And it now appears that even the power of the purse-strings is denied to the Deputies of the French people. The Budget of 60,000,000*l.* is to be fixed by a decree, before the meeting of the Chamber. Really, a dictator is an expensive luxury.

The chairs of philosophy and of science are condemned, to make room for the priestly allowance of logic and rhetoric,—in a word, the *curriculum* of Oxford!

The Dictator has at length begun to tamper with the seat of justice. The principle of the absolute irremovability of the judges is slightly infringed. The rest will follow.

Switzerland is menaced with the "consequences" of refusing to comply with the imperious demands of French and Austrian despotism. Her independence is absolutely guaranteed by the treaties which Earl Derby professes his determination to respect: as if they had never been broken, since 1815, by any of the contracting powers! There is evidently some secret undermining work going on in Belgium. In Switzerland and Belgium storms are brewing. But Lord Malmesbury will vouch for the sincerity of the man who never pronounced the word "Republic", till within three days of his *coup d'état*. And all this time, English travellers are hounded down, and searched and bullied like malefactors, Downing-street maintaining friendly relations with all powers. Lord Malmesbury's passport is a licence to imprison, if not to shoot, any travelling Englishman who believes in the signature of the "intimate personal friend of Louis Bonaparte."

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THE CONFERENCE.

THE National Parliamentary Reform Association have held this week the long promised conference in St. Martin's Hall. Imagine four bare whitewashed brick walls, enclosing a considerable and lofty room, lighted by four large windows, and roofed with intersecting beams of wood. At one end, on the base of the room, is a slightly elevated platform, from which rises, rank above rank, backed benches to a considerable height. Suspended from the ceiling are eight *gaseliers*, having four burners each—two of which, as the day is dark, are faintly flickering in the cold damp air. On the platform are a table and chairs; and sitting there, are seven Members of Parliament—Mr. Hume, Mr. George Thompson, Sir Joshua Walsley, Mr. Geach, Mr. Heyworth, Mr. Fox, Mr. Torrens McCullagh, and Mr. J. B. Smith; and near these, Sir Charles Napier, Mr. Thornton Hunt, Mr. Edward Miall, the Reverend J. Burnett, Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, Mr. Lattimore, Mr. Slack, Mr. Robert Leblond, Mr. Houghton, Mr. Manning, the Reverend Jabez Burns, the Reverend Mr. Bean, and other gentlemen.

Sir Joshua Walsley, as President of the Association, the council of which convened the meeting, claimed the right of addressing it before proceeding to business, and before electing a chairman. He said the Conference had been called together for the purpose of considering the best method of carrying out the views of the great majority of the earnest reformers of the country.

"The council of the association had issued a circular, in which were set forth the subjects which it would be the duty of the conference to consider. They were: 1. What means can be adopted for securing to the utmost possible extent the constitutional rights of the people. 2. How

far the bill before parliament is calculated to carry that object into effect. 3. The course to be pursued to obtain for the voter the independent exercise of the franchise. These were the objects which were recommended to the particular consideration of the conference."

But since Lord John Russell's Ministry had ceased to exist, they need not discuss the Whig measure of reform. The great object of this conference would be, to devise those measures by which a future administration, whatever might be its name, would be compelled to grant to the people of the United Kingdom a full and equal representation in the House of Commons. (Cheers.)

It was unnecessary to detail the features of the measure advocated by the National Reform Association.

"The holding of nearly six hundred public meetings—the co-operation of the press—the annual discussions in parliament, and the publication of a very large number of tracts and pamphlets, had made the principles of the association almost universally known, and had obtained for them a wide and most encouraging support. On one point only had there been any misapprehension, and that had arisen out of a misinterpretation of the first clause in the declaration of their objects, as set forth on the card of membership. That clause was a definition of the qualification for the franchise. Now, it had been most erroneously supposed that 'the claiming to be rated to the relief of the poor,' meant the actual payment of rates as a condition of voting. Such was not the case; the exact contrary was the fact. (Cheers.) All that the association meant was, that the existing parochial machinery should be retained, as the best adapted for the purpose of local registration, under local supervision and self-government; but the right to be upon the register, and to vote, should be wholly independent of the payment of rates. (Cheers.) This simple statement would, he hoped, give assurance to the friends of reform everywhere, that the association would most strenuously oppose all attempts to insert a ratepaying clause in any future reform bill (cheers); believing that such a clause would be the fruitful source of oppression and fraud, and little better than a penal enactment, visiting upon honest men the penalty of disfranchisement for the non-payment of a due, which the parochial authorities have ample power to enforce. (Cheers.)"

Every friend of reform must earnestly desire to see the intelligent and powerful industrial community awakened to a sense of the importance of working out their political emancipation. The advent of the Tory protectionist party to power ought to revive the spirit which animated the people in the struggle for the repeal of the corn-laws. Had the victory over the monopolists of the people's bread been followed by an immediate assault upon the monopolists of the people's franchise, the year 1852 would not have seen Lord Derby in power (cheers), but a government acting in harmony with the people, through a reformed House of Commons. Let it not be forgotten that the restoration of the duties on corn was only one amongst many evil measures which a Tory government assume office to carry through parliament. Let it not be forgotten that the principles, and, consequently, the policy of such a government would be throughout illiberal; and that though it might not be able to carry its principle in all cases into actual enactment, it would obstruct and prevent measures of a liberal character from being carried. (Cheers.) For himself he would not unite in a general agitation upon exclusively free-trade principles (cheers), and would counsel his countrymen who wanted not only cheap bread but cheap government, and a constant and effectual control over the national purse, to embrace the present opportunity of securing the perpetual blessings of free trade, and a general amelioration of existing burdens by means of a radical change in the representation. (Cheers.) He recommended the appointment of a business committee to arrange the proceedings of the conference.

Mr. Robert Heywood and Mr. Ralph Walter were appointed vice-presidents, and Mr. George Thompson, secretary to the conference. The nomination of the business committee was a work of time. The Chartists, proper, in the Hall caused much disturbance. Mr. Ernest Jones objected to the appointment of the committee. Mr. Dick proposed Mr. Bronte O'Brien, and stigmatized the association as dishonest, whereupon Mr. Hume reproved him in language that from its dignity and good sense admitted of no reply. Mr. Dick, not silenced, rose again, but was obliged to sit down under the storm of indignation. Mr. George Thompson then explained that no one, unless he were a member of the association, could be nominated, sit on a committee, or vote. During the nominations, Mr. Hume spoke several times, and kept the obstructives tolerably well in hand by his good humour, which overcame all opposition. Ultimately the following committee were chosen:—Mr. Serle, Mr. Birch, Mr. Holyoake, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Lattimore, Mr. Miall, and Mr. Gregory Foster, all of whom at once retired to arrange the order of business.

Mr. Hume addressed the meeting, and said that he attended there that day to forward a cause in which he had been engaged all his life. For forty-one years he had never failed to give his vote for progressive reform.

"He had assisted in drawing up the Charter, and he concurred in all its principles. (Hear.) But there were other men who did not wish to go so far, and all he should do would be to attempt by fact and argument to convince them he was right. Was he, because he could not get everything he wished, to throw obstacles in the way of beneficial progress? (Hear, hear.) They lived in a country where the majority must ultimately rule. He would tell Mr. Ernest Jones and the other Chartists present, that twelve years before, they had by their conduct stayed the progress of reform. (Hear, hear.) There were men in their association of all calibres of understanding, weak and strong, bold and timid, although all were actuated by the same wish for the welfare of their country; and the plan which should unite all their efforts was, in his opinion, the best that could be devised. (Hear, hear.) It would not do to drive the coach faster than the horses would carry it. They should endeavour to pave the way to ulterior reforms by accepting the present compromise, for it was nothing more. In accepting it, he did not abate one jot of his opinions, but he said, 'Bide your time.' They had now an administration that declared against all reform, and was that a time for reformers to refuse everything? (Hear, hear.) Every step they took was one in the direction of the Charter, and there was no reason why they should not go on harmoniously."

The Rev. J. Burnett said, that in these meetings they should endeavour to give the Government an idea of their moral power. They might depend upon it, that in meetings of reformers, calmness and order were the only things to appeal their opponents—

"The sure way to make the strength of Reformers felt, was by unity and co-operation. It was said that Lord Derby was in power—that was the phrase. He denied it. Lord Derby was merely in place (cheers and laughter), and if he ever was in power, it would be the fault of the Reformers. (Interruption from Mr. Dick, followed by indignant cries from the meeting.) They might let the man bark sometimes. (Great laughter.) What the association wanted was, that every sane man—(laughter, from the pointedness of the allusion to the interrupter)—and who had not been convicted of crime, and who had a house within the limits of the empire, should possess the franchise. But if the people were to get this vote without the protection of the ballot, the conscientious tradesman would still be compelled to vote against his conscience. There must also be a new arrangement of electoral districts, for without that point being gained, the extended suffrage and the ballot would not produce their full effect. And when they had secured this measure of reform, they would be able to see ministers in power in whom they had confidence, instead of seeing the great offices of the state played at shuttlecock with by a Russell and a Derby—as if there were no other men in the House of Commons fit to form a cabinet. Had these noble individuals a better knowledge of business than a Bright or a Cobden, or a more intimate acquaintance with the wants and wishes of the people than the chairman, Mr. Hume?"

Mr. Miall read the recommendations of the business committee, which set forth that the object of the conference was to organize an agitation for a bill commensurate with the wants of the people in parliamentary representation, and that the association had met with the support of the working classes.

Mr. Dick demurred loudly to this, amid a fresh explosion of anger, and an irate person moved that Mr. Dick "be turned out," and expressed great willingness to assist in that operation, but the chairman again succeeded in restoring order, and intimated that one who could not behave himself ought to retire.

A Chartist objected to the constitution of the association. (Cheers.) There were no working people in it, and it did not represent the feelings of the working classes. (Cheers.)

Mr. Fox, M.P., vindicated the correctness of the statement in the report, that the working classes had given their support to the association. They had held one of the most magnificent meetings he ever saw in the invitation of the Manchester Chartists. ("No, no!" "Yes!") If the working people were not with them, where were they, and whom were they with? (Cheers.) (A Voice—"With the chartists.") A gentleman said with the chartists. Their being with the chartists did not prevent them from being with the association. (Hear, hear.) He was a chartist, and yet he was a member of this association. The terms of Mr. Hume's motion had become the standard and watchword of reform. The one sole object of this conference was to determine in what way to carry out the objects of the association. Let them put down all dissensions and differences among themselves, and success was certain. Mr. Fox showed that a minority of the people returned a majority to the House of Commons, whether the calculations were made according to the population or the property of the electoral districts. Therefore the redistribution of the districts was one of the most important objects.

Mr. George Dawson, in a short but humorous speech, expressed his readiness and that of the Chartists of Birmingham to go along with the association, though at the same time they went further. If they could not get all at once, they did not despise an instalment. He was very earnest in deprecating improper objections to the proceedings of the meeting. Mr. McCullagh, M.P., defended the constitution and policy of the

association, and advised the meeting, if Lord Derby sought to disturb the settlement of 1846, to hoist not only the flag of free-trade, but the flag of something more than the mere assertion of a mercantile principle. (Cheers.)

The delegates were then called on to report the state of political feeling in their localities.

Mr. Gissing, of Bradford, stated that the majority of the reformers of that town were in favour of an extension of the suffrage; some desired universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and shorter parliaments. He repudiated chartism; he was a loyal subject of the Queen. The Rev. Mr. Bean denied that the chartists were not loyal subjects.

Mr. Dick announced himself as a delegate from a society consisting of a hundred-and-seventeen paid members, all pledged to manhood suffrage, and although frequently interrupted by loud expressions of derision and considerable uproar, made a speech in which he boasted that one of his ancestors had suffered in the Grass-market of Edinburgh for the cause of liberty. Mr. Le Blond, on the part of the chartists of Bradford, repudiated any sympathy with the sentiments of the last speaker, who did not represent any section of the intelligent chartists of the country. The population of Bradford, though very many of them were for a larger measure, were generally willing to coöperate with the National Reform Association.

The Rev. Mr. Parsons, Stroud, introduced himself as a chartist and a loyal subject. He had once gone so far as to endeavour to prove the justice of the six points from Scripture. He did not care who was chief magistrate, whether Queen or President; what he wanted was a chief magistrate to govern the people according to the laws the people had made. (Cheers.) Believing it to be the desire of our present gracious sovereign to do so, he would not exchange her for all the presidents in Christendom. (Loud cheers.) The people had carried the old Reform Bill against all the corruption of a Tory parliament, and they could do the same again. (Cheers.) It was natural for aristocratic stomachs to like corruption, because it was known that they could not eat game until it was a little high. (Laughter.) They liked corruption, and they confessed it, but the Whigs were whispering about against it, and yet constantly fed on it on the sly. Like the boy stealing apples, described by Cowper, they

"Blamed and protested, then joined in the plan,
Partook of the plunder, and pitied the man."

(Loud laughter.) He would say to them, don't mind Whigs or Tories, but join with the association for an enlarged suffrage, and strive for the ballot, and by perseverance very little time would elapse before every reform had been carried.

Mr. G. J. Holyoake said the conduct exhibited by the chartists was a thing to mourn over. It was not in the power of tyranny to say anything against the enfranchisement of the people so bitter as to quote what had been said that day, if that was to be taken as an example of the temper and intelligence of the people. But it was not so. For a year and a half he had been, and still was, one of the council of the chief political society of the working class, known as the National Charter Association. That body had certainly elected some to its council who were friendly to confederated action with all who work for the enfranchisement of the people. The chartists might not forego their own independent class activity. Practical political sagacity had made so much progress among them that they were not likely to offer unanimous opposition to any who would bestow the franchise on any portion of the people now without it. The social reformers have now returned to their ancient interest in political reform, and lend their aid very heartily in the work of popular enfranchisement. Their co-operation would be practical and effectual. The National and Parliamentary Association went as far as the will of the nation—further than that nobody could go.

Rev. D. Burn said that the ministers of the dissenting congregations were rapidly coming to the conclusion that they must take an active part in the reform movement. (Hear, hear.) He concurred cordially in the plan of the association. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Ernest Jones then came upon the platform amid some cheering and much hissing, and with much energy denounced the plan of the association as reactionary. (Oh, oh.) They had as yet only sought the franchise for the rich, and were now capping the climax by providing for such of the rich as remained still disfranchised. He denied that the association represented the feelings of any portion of the chartist body, and asserted that they had not been invited to Leeds or Manchester. He challenged the association to a discussion of their respective principles. (Much confusion here arose. The sense of the meeting being against Mr. Jones, while a small body of chartists supported him strenuously.) He understood the council to say they were all chartists.

Mr. Clarke, as a Manchester chartist, denied the assertion of Mr. E. Jones as to the association having gone to Manchester uninvited. They had been expressly invited by the chartist council, and the proposal had only been resented by a very small minority.

The rest of that day's sitting was wasted in keeping certain chartists, headed by the redoubtable Dick, in order, and the conference adjourned at half-past five, until the next day.

The second sitting of the Conference commenced at about eleven o'clock on Wednesday. Mr. Ralph Walters, of Newcastle, was called to the chair. The same members of the Association were on the platform, and many delegates from various parts of the country: among others, Mr. Alderman Knight and Mr. Alderman Cullen, from Nottingham; Mr. John Towle, Oxford; Mr. Thomson Pard, W.S., Edinburgh; Mr. John Ingram Lockhart, Pimlico; Mr. Thomas Jarrold, Norwich; and Mr. J. A. Nicholay, Marylebone.

Mr. Ralph Walters said, that having been elected one of the vice-presidents of the Association, he now took the chair, and, having to follow that excellent and veteran reformer, Mr. Hume, he must claim their forbearance. He hoped that their proceedings would be characterized by that good feeling which their object demanded. For his own part, there were many things said yesterday with which he could not concur; but he was there from a distant part of the country, not to assist in preparing any new measures, but to inquire and decide on the best plan for carrying out the measures prescribed by the National Reform Association. (Cheers.) They must never lose sight of that point. This was a time when reformers should act in a body, and not single-handed. He did not believe that disunion really prevailed, for it was but a small minority that had disturbed their proceedings the day before. Mr. Walters read the following minute, as to the mode of conducting the business of the day:—"It is recommended by the business committee to the conference that the present sitting be devoted to the discussion of the resolutions read from the chair yesterday, and that they be considered by the conference exclusively. No persons will move, second, or support resolutions, or take part in this discussion, but members of the National Financial and Parliamentary Association. The resolutions being disposed of, the rest of the day will be devoted to the reception of reports from the country." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Shaw, Mr. Wheeler, and Mr. Dick, all claimed the right to address the meeting and to move resolutions, but declined the offer of cards of membership from Mr. George Thompson, M.P., the Secretary, as they "dissented from a great part of what the association had done."

Mr. Thornton Hunt said that it was necessary that the business of the conference should be first done, and then Mr. Shaw would have an opportunity of stating his sentiments. (Hear.)

Mr. Thompson said that when their object was to enfranchise four and a half millions of their fellow subjects, when they desired to afford the protection of the ballot, when they supported no property qualifications, and when they wished to give not only equal electoral rights but equal electoral power to all parts of the country—and when gentlemen nevertheless had the effrontery to come there and say that they did not agree to their objects, they ought surely not to waste any further time upon them. (Cheers.)

After some further conversation, it was agreed that the depositions should be heard until half-past one, and that then the business should be proceeded with, it being also arranged that all persons desirous of speaking should retire, and give their names to the business committee before they were allowed to address the meeting.

Mr. Shaw, however, said that he should not interfere any further, and advised all his friends to follow his example.

Mr. Ralph Walters now announced the first of the deputations that had passed the business committee, namely, Mr. Bezer, who represented the Committee of the Chartist Association, and who stated that in the opinion of his constituents any extension of the suffrage which did not go the length of manhood suffrage, would retard rather than accelerate the enfranchisement of all. (No, no.)

Mr. S. Rhodes, of Accrington, and Mr. Charles Henry Eli, of Finsbury, both expressed their conviction that the reformers of all shades of opinion in their localities would support the principles of the National Reform Association.

Mr. Davy, of Exeter, proposed, and Mr. George Dawson seconded the first resolution:—"That, however much this conference may regret the accession to power of a government avowedly opposed to parliamentary reform, it cannot but congratulate the country that one effect of the recent turn of political events will be

to relieve reformers from the discussion of measures imperfect in themselves, and utterly inadequate to meet the demand of public opinion."

Mr. John Towle, of Oxford, moved the second resolution:—"That this conference commend the interests of parliamentary reform to the active aid of local committees and associations, which will best forward the cause by diligently enrolling additional members of the association, by the strictest attention to the registration of electors, by the introduction of proper candidates to constituencies, and by evincing that generous spirit of coöperation in the service of our country, without which no national movement can retain living force."

Mr. Robert Heywood, of Bolton, seconded the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.

Mr. Chapman, of Yarmouth, as a man sprung from the ranks of labour, was desirous of doing all in his power to improve the social and political condition of working-men. He represented men of all classes and principles, from moderate reformers to extreme chartists; all were desirous of promoting the welfare of the Reform Association, and entirely agreed with its objects. He moved the third resolution:—"That this conference, whilst desiring the maintenance of a free-trade policy, and convinced that the surest guarantee for it will be a liberal reform of the House of Commons, desires at the same time to remind the country that the present state of the representation not only places in peril the advantages which the people at present enjoy, but stops the progress of all necessary political and financial reforms."

Mr. Dick, of Pimlico, (not the individual who created so much disturbance) seconded the resolution. "He wished to say, in self-defence, that his Christian name was Thomas." Several other gentlemen having spoken, the resolution was put and carried unanimously. Mr. George Thompson, M.P., then read the following address to the meeting:—

AN ADDRESS FROM THE CONFERENCE TO THE COUNTRY.

"Opportunity is restored to the party of progress. By the late change of administration, a free field is opened to reformers. At any former period, the accession to power of a ministry like the present would have been a cause of sorrow and dismay; it should now be an invigorating stimulus to a strong and advancing public opinion to declare itself. Let the opportunity thus afforded to the people for recasting their position be at once embraced, and mutual efforts be made for the establishment of a more harmonious temper, a more hopeful courage, and a more practical determination than have recently characterised popular contests. The National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association has created an active organization for popular reform, and kept up a consecutive and formal agitation for equal electoral rights during years when public interest in the question was comparatively dormant. That body appreciates the importance of the crisis, and enters on renewed duties with sanguine hopes. Let the people promptly and nobly sustain the men whose past deeds are a title to their confidence and their gratitude. Lord John Russell, since his resignation, has pledged himself to advocate the extension of the suffrage to all who are 'fit to appreciate it.' The doctrine of fitness will now become the subject of political study. Let the people themselves decide whether fitness for the franchise consists in ability to pay a rate-rent of 5*l.* in towns and 20*l.* in counties, or 40*l.* in assessed taxes; or in intelligence, honesty, and independence. If, in the judgment of the people, the sterling qualities last mentioned prove fitness, rather than the accidents first specified, let them co-operate with the National Association to obtain the suffrage for every occupier of a house, or part of a house, rated to the relief of the poor, without respect to the payment of rates as a condition of being on the register. Such a scheme of reform would include the largest and best portion and class of the community, and if not universal suffrage, would be at least a representation of the entire body. The triumph of this measure of reform, if universally announced and judiciously advocated, we hold to be inevitable. Great principles, founded in justice, and qualified with political prudence, will always command the sympathies and support of the intelligent; and a cause which intrenches itself in the feelings of the people of a free nation, has no need to fear any prolonged sectional jealousies or party resistances. With these views, the conference puts the cause of reform before the country's parliament in the shape of a national demand for equal electoral rights, an equitable apportionment of political power, and security for the independent exercise of the trust restored to the people of the United Kingdom. Resolved for themselves to be steadfast in the demand of what they believe to be reasonable and just, they will offer no impediment to any who may ask for less; to refuse any part, until all can be got, would, they hold, be conduct tending rather to the injury than the advancement of their object. Every real extension of popular rights will render those still withheld easier of attainment—as history has shown in the series of which Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the Reform Bill, are the representatives. Of late years, public movements have unhappily been much weakened by the want of a generous spirit of nationality, intent upon the interests of the whole, rather than upon the interests of separate parties. Owing to the want of that spirit, minor political differences have been permitted to sever into sections a great people. This conference will not have assembled in vain, if it shall have developed, in any degree, that higher spirit which subordinates party predilections and prejudices to the attainment

of a common national good. They would, therefore, entreat their brother reformers everywhere, to respect the independent convictions of those who (from motives, probably, as patriotic as their own) may in some degree differ from them; but, at the same time, they exhort all uninfluenced by past alliances, or personal friendships, to adopt the most energetic and direct means to secure a victory for their own principles."

Mr. Cockerell, of Cambridge, moved that the address be adopted, which was seconded by Mr. Sisison, of Hull, who complained of the absurdity of having 15,000 clergymen to teach the people religion, while there were not above 3000 of them who knew what religion was. (Laughter.) He held that every sect ought to maintain its own ministers. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Bunting, an operative from Norwich, supported the address, and informed the meeting that the people of Norwich did not appreciate the honour of being represented by the son of the Duke of Wellington, and that it was intended to elect a reformer in his place. (Hear, hear.) After a few observations from Mr. Watts and Mr. Lockhart, the address was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. Alderman Cullen, of Nottingham, moved the fifth resolution:—"That this conference conveys its hearty thanks to the active members of the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association, especially to the president, Sir Joshua Walsley, M.P.—(cheers)—for the indefatigable exertions which they have made in the cause of reform during a period presenting so much difficulty, and earnestly recommend them to prosecute with increased vigour the object they have in view." Mr. Thornton Hunt seconded the motion, which, after a flattering panegyric upon Sir Joshua from Dr. Burns and other gentlemen, was carried with acclamation.

Mr. Tahcon, of Eye, moved the next resolution:—"That a duty especially incumbent on the members and local associations is to augment the funds at the disposal of the association to the largest possible amount, since the success of so extended a machinery must in a great degree be proportionate to the means of keeping it in active motion." Mr. Jackson (Yarmouth) seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

Mr. Hinton (representing the King's-cross district) proposed the following resolution:—"That the conference recommend to all reform constituencies to support the return of no candidate for a seat in the Commons House of Parliament at the forthcoming election unless he pledges himself to use all the power the constitution allows to throw out any administration that will not bring in a bill for the extension of the franchise and vote by ballot." Mr. Ayrton would support the resolution in an amended form, by which they would merely pledge themselves to call upon the candidates to refuse their confidence to any government who would not support the measures referred to in the resolution.

The resolution, as amended, was adopted, and the meeting separated.

THE AGGREGATE MEETING.

At half-past seven o'clock in the evening, St. Martin's Hall was well filled in every part; many ladies were accommodated with seats on the platform. On the motion of Sir Joshua Walsley, seconded by Mr. McLeod, the chair was taken by Mr. Hume, who in his address recapitulated his views with regard to the advantages of our form of government, the abuses which required remedy, and the various points of reform contemplated by the association. As their opponents now occupied the garrison, it was absolutely necessary that reformers should unite, and he asked all present to give some credit to those who had devoted their whole lives to the cause of reform. (Cheers.) There was not a Chartist in that room who was more ultra in his Chartism than some members of parliament; but as they could not expect to carry out their will on every point, it became them to endeavour to unite. In 1849, seventy members of the House of Commons came to an agreement to demand an extension of the suffrage to every householder and every lodger. (A voice—"All," followed by loud cheers.) He said all, if they could have it; if not, all that they could get. (Cheers and laughter.) As regarded the question of annual parliaments, he believed that under such a regulation the country would never have a man fit for parliamentary duty. (Dissent.) With respect to the payment of members, he wished to say that there was an act of parliament, yet unrepealed, by which that might be carried into practice. He concluded by entreating that there might be such co-operation as was exhibited during the struggle for the Reform Bill. (Cheers.)

Mr. Ayrton moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting believes radical parliamentary reform to be the great practical want of the day; and while desiring the maintenance of free trade, records its conviction, that freedom of trade would have been impregnable if the suffrage had been placed upon a truly

national basis; and that, in common with other equally important questions, free trade can only be finally decided when the House of Commons is made a real representation of the people."

Mr. McCullagh, M.P., seconded the motion, which was supported by Sir Charles Napier and Mr. McCullagh, M.P.

Mr. Bezer, on coming forward, was received with loud and repeated cheers. He said that he agreed with the greater portion of what they had heard from the members of the National Reform Association. The working classes, even the poorest among them, were amenable to the laws; and he would tell them that those who were amenable to the laws ought to have a voice in the making of those laws. (Tremendous cheers.) He agreed with the gentleman who last addressed them, that by divisions they could never win, but he demanded fair play for the poor man. (Hear, hear.) He concluded by moving the six points of the Charter as an amendment to the resolution, objecting to any compromise on the pretext of expediency. Mr. Shaw seconded the amendment. Mr. G. J. Holyoake said that it was very well for Mr. Bezer to say he did not mean to make divisions, when he did that which had that effect. (Cheers.) Both Mr. Bezer and himself were Chartists, but while he agreed with that gentleman as to what was right, he came there to help to attain what was possible. (Cheers.) He confessed that the term "manhood suffrage" was hateful to his ears, precisely on that ground of "expediency" which Mr. Bezer professed to repudiate, for it stopped short of including womanhood suffrage. (Laughter.) They must waive some opinions to secure union, and he believed that household suffrage went as far as the will of the nation would allow them to go. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Ogden and Mr. McLeod supported the original resolution. Mr. Ernest Jones rose amidst great cheers, mingled with hissing, and spoke in favour of the amendment. He challenged Sir Joshua Walsley to come forward and discuss with him, either in that hall or elsewhere, the question of the number who would be enfranchised by the plan of the Reform Association. He believed that if their plan of reform were carried, at least four millions of male adults would still remain without a vote. Sir Joshua Walsley referred to various documents, lists of houses, and computations of the number of male adults in the kingdom, and stated that, after all deductions, he did not believe there would be more than a quarter of a million left without the franchise. Mr. George Thompson deprecated discussion, and staked his reputation on the assertion that, under the scheme of the National Reform Association, the suffrage would be easier of attainment than in the United States. (Cheers, and cries of No, no.) He had travelled all over the States, and could demonstrate the fact. The amendment, after a show of hands, was declared lost, and the original resolution carried; and a vote of thanks to Mr. Hume, the chairman, terminated the proceedings at about eleven o'clock.

THE LEAGUE HAS RISEN AGAIN.

MANCHESTER saw its old League revive on Tuesday in all its former strength. The men who attended were convened to take such steps as might be necessary to defeat the "mad and wicked attempt" to reimpose a tax on corn, a fact now placed beyond dispute by the accession of Lord Derby to office, pledged to restore the corn-laws. There were present, besides representatives from twenty towns, the pith of the old leaguers, nine members of parliament—Mr. Bright, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Henry, Mr. Kershaw, Mr. C. Hindley, Mr. R. Milligan, Mr. Brotherton, and Mr. J. Heywood; and occupying the chair was the same "George Wilson" who sat there of yore. Mr. Wilson explained that the old council of the League had been called together in order to decide whether they should reconstitute that formidable organization,—in fact, to decide whether the League should rise again. Mr. Cobden was called to move the first resolution. He began by an eulogy of the League; how that it had kept faith with the public, and how the men who had worked it had not sought any favour or recompense from the government. He said this because he wished it to be distinctly understood that what he now proposed was to serve no party of politicians. He disavowed any such intention whatever. He came there to fight for a cause which experience had shown to be worthy of their efforts, and if it pleased them to renew their labours, he proposed that it should be under the same rules and regulations which led them triumphantly to victory on the last occasion, and that they "should strictly confine themselves to the object for which they had now met together." He would not mix up with free trade any other question whatever.

"It cannot be concealed that there are many gentlemen who press the body of men who are assembled on the present occasion, to enter upon other questions as well as upon the question of the corn-laws. They say, 'Why don't you

go for a large measure of parliamentary reform, which would not only enable you to carry free trade in corn, but a great many other measures?' Now, it seems to me that the fallacy that lies under this argument or enquiry is this—it is assumed that because we are going to make an effort to put an end for ever to this controversy upon free trade, that therefore we intend to exclude other people from entering upon the consideration of other questions. Now, we do not say that because gentlemen join in the movement of the Anti-Corn-Law League again, they are to abandon other principles or neglect other movements; but what we do say is this, that, having shown you the vast social benefits that have arisen from the establishment of the principle of free trade in food, and the advantages that have resulted to the great mass of the people from that measure, we do not feel justified—while we are morally certain that in a few months we can put this question for ever out of the category of controversial questions—placing ourselves backwards, by taking up other questions upon which the public is not so well informed or so completely united—we, the men who have had the responsible duty of taking an active part in this agitation before, do not think it justifiable that we should change our position in the House of Commons from that of a majority to a minority, and so retard the definite settlement of this question from a period of three or four months to probably as many years." ("Hear," and cheers.)

As they wished to bring the question at once to an issue, he advocated the immediate dissolution of parliament after the necessary forms had been gone through of voting the supplies and passing the mutiny act. In reply to those who urged the impropriety of precipitating the question, he said, "he had the strongest belief that we are safe from everything but delay and the tricks of politicians, which would be practised during that delay."

"You cannot keep the same enthusiasm alive for a number of months; but while it is cooling your enemies are pursuing the arts of deception and misrepresentation, and one of their arts will be to try to mix other questions up with this, and, if possible, to thrust some other question before it. (Hear.) Already I see the enemy hoisting a flag, trying to raise up again the banner of religious intolerance in this country. ('Hear, hear,' and a laugh.) You may have Protestants and Popery thrust before the question of the bread-tax. It is the old thing over again. Your enemies will try to be religious (a laugh); they will pretend to be the only religious part of the country. ('Hear, hear,' and laughter.) They will tax the people's bread with profess to be the great champions of religion. You know that in old times they who 'devoured widows' houses for a pretence made long prayers.' (Laughter and cheers.) Now, from what I have seen of the men who fought and won the battle of free-trade in corn, they were practically and essentially the most pious men I have met with in the course of my career in life (hear, hear); but you will have accusations of infidelity, and Popery, and all sorts of charges made against those very men, if by that means their opponents can change the issue from the question of free trade in corn to some other. Why, I should not wonder if they tried to raise the issue of the monarchy. (A laugh.) I have seen it already put forth that the monarchy is a danger if we are allowed to organize and succeed in our objects. (Renewed laughter.) You in Manchester and Lancashire, who showed, not many months ago, by a demonstration which only Lancashire and Manchester men can make, which astonished royalty, and those attendant on royalty, who had witnessed the great pageants of Europe for thirty years, your loyalty and devotion to the institutions of the country—ay, you will be denounced by these bread-taxers as being enemies of the monarchy and promoters of revolution! (Laughter and cheers.) You need not be surprised at any charge that may be brought against you with a view to divert attention from this question, if you will only give your enemies time. Nor, I say, give them no time. ('Hear, hear,' and loud cheers.)

He combated the notion, at great length, that we should try the Protectionists a twelvemonth, to give them the opportunity of abandoning their professions and principles. That was a new morality to preach in England. It was the first time he had ever heard such a policy openly advocated, and recommended to a government.

"I tell you candidly," he exclaimed, "I do not believe that Lord Derby and his colleagues are half so base as these advisers take them to be. What! will the men who hunted that illustrious statesman almost to his grave for having abolished the Corn-Laws—the men whose sole political capital from that time to this has been the sarcasm and the obloquy with which they have covered his name and fame, and the abuse and denunciation with which they have loaded 'the gentlemen of the Manchester school' (laughter and cheers)—will these men do, not what Sir Robert Peel did, but ten times worse?"

For Peel did give the Whigs a chance, and declare that he was not the man to carry the repeal of the Corn-Laws. He went back to power when the Whigs failed, and he carried all his colleagues, save one, back with him—that one was Lord Derby. He believed Lord Derby would be as good as his word; and for that reason he and others had consulted together, and the result of their consultation was the notice of motion made by Mr. Villiers; and if there should be any difficulty in bringing on that motion, he hoped, and he believed, that Mr. Villiers would be the first to move a vote of want of confidence in Ministers, rather than allow this question to remain undecided.

"It has been said that this is a very wrong time to dissolve Parliament. (Hear, hear, and a laugh.) Now, I

tell you candidly—and it is a secret coming from a member of Parliament—that I never yet knew the proper time in the eyes of members of Parliament for a dissolution. (Laughter.) If, by any possibility, two or three months can be gained, such is the dread of a large portion of the constituents of the people at being returned back to their constituents, that they are willing to make almost any compromise or sacrifice they can in order to put off the evil day for a time. I think the constituents of this country have very much to do with, and very much blame to bear for, this state of things."

He thought Lord Derby's threat of dissolution would have a great effect on certain members unless the pressure from without showed that the people were awake to what was going on. They must be prepared for any objections which would cause delay; but he thought that the greatest of all evils was to leave the question of the Corn-Laws unsettled.

"Then our opponents say of us, 'What would these men have? These are men,' they say, 'who are looking for some other form of government. They will not allow any Government to exist, and if the present Government is not to remain in power, what Government can you have? Why, by the bye, they will be asking Mr. Bright if he is willing to go to the Horse Guards (great laughter), and they will probably be stipulating that Mr. Cobden shall become Lord Chancellor.' (Loud laughter.) But are there any such consequences necessarily involved in this matter? Our opponents say, 'You cannot carry on the business of Parliament unless you have either Protectionists or Whigs in office;' but they forget that when this question is settled, the Protectionist party will disappear. (Laughter and cheers.) You only have one dissolution in the question, and you will never find another politician who will tie the tin kettle of protection to his tail afterwards. (Great laughter.) They are all anxious to get rid of it, no doubt (a laugh), and when you have abolished the Protection party, you may probably find it will not be so difficult to carry on the government in the House of Commons. (Hear, hear.)"

There lay the difficulty—the existence of that firm, compact party, led on by the new Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"I say, have a dissolution, abolish this Protectionist party, and you will no longer suffer inconvenience from this compact body tripping up Ministers as before. Put the question of protection out of the way upon a dissolution, and I answer for it you will never have a party in Parliament founded on that question. You will have all parties moving on fresh ground. None will be able to claim merit as Free-traders when all are Free-traders; and those politicians who now pride themselves upon their support of the free-trade question will have to shake out a reef, and throw out their sails to catch the gale in some other direction. I have confidence enough in the patriotism of the Protectionists to believe that they will find something else to engage their attention, quite as much to our interest as to their own. Get rid of this difficulty, and you will get rid of the objection that we are going to render government impossible. We have a plain and straightforward course to pursue. We won our battle before by pursuing a straightforward course, regardless of the interests of all political parties. I am not surprised that, taking that course upon a great question which involved the interests of the whole community, the effect should have been the breaking up of parties and of governments. I have always said, and said seven years ago, that we should destroy two or three governments before this question was settled; and now I say, without caring for consequences,—not dreading consequences,—feeling certain that the consequences will be useful to the country,—let all classes unite, the humblest as well as the richest, and let us put the Government to one of three courses. Either they must recant fully and completely their principle of protection; or they must resign their seats in the Government; or they shall dissolve Parliament. One of those three courses we will compel them to take—(loud and continued cheering)—and when you have accomplished either of these objects you will have effected all that I have in view."

"Loud cheers," of course, accompanied Mr. Cobden, as, moving the following resolution, he sat down:—

"That an Administration having been formed committed by every pledge that can bind the honour of public men to attempt to reimpose a duty on corn, it is resolved that the Anti-Corn-Law League be reconstituted, under the rules and regulations by which that body was formerly organized."

Seconded by Mr. Ashton, of Hyde, the resolution was unanimously carried—that is, if we except the fanatical opposition of a gentleman, who then, and afterwards, endeavoured to get up a "currency" discussion. The next resolution was moved by Mr. Milner Gibson, M.P., and seconded by Mr. J. Heywood, M.P.

"That the council of the League be requested to put themselves into immediate communication with their friends in all parts of the kingdom, urging them to immediate action to prevent the return to parliament of candidates in favour of the re-enactment, under whatever pretence or form, of any duty upon the importation of foreign corn."

Mr. Cobden had exhausted the subject, and little remained for the subsequent speakers. Mr. Milner Gibson, however, made merry on the absence of the word "protection" from the addresses of the new Ministers to their constituents. Mr. Heywood touched lightly and delicately on parliamentary reform. Less restrained, Mr. Bright, in moving the third resolution, went boldly into the subject, and attacked those Ministers who represented rotten boroughs—like Midhurst, here Lord Egmont returns the home secretary; and

Droitwich, where the colonial secretary returns himself. The resolution moved by Mr. Bright served as the foundation of the following memorial to the Queen:—

"TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY."

"May it please your Majesty,—We, your Majesty's loyal and devoted subjects, conscious of the earnest solicitude which your Majesty feels for the welfare and happiness of your people, and impressed with a deep sense of the danger which now threatens the security of those great measures of commercial policy which, during the last four years, have conducted so greatly to the prosperity and social contentment of all classes of your Majesty's subjects, have seen with distrust and apprehension the accession to power of a Government pledged by all the obligations of personal honour and public duty to attempt the restoration of odious restrictions on the trade and industry of this country."

"That your memorialists, while recording their solemn and emphatic protest against any and every attempt to reimpose, in whatever shape, taxes on the food of the people, are firmly persuaded that an overwhelming majority of the British people are, by every constitutional means, prepared to resist and defeat such a policy as an unjust and dangerous aggression on the rights and industry, the freedom of trade and commerce, and the social welfare and domestic happiness of the great mass of your Majesty's subjects."

"That your memorialists believe that doubt and uncertainty on this subject are calculated to disturb and jeopardize all trading and industrial operations; to keep alive a spirit of agitation and restlessness throughout your Majesty's dominions; to foment false hopes, and foster injurious apprehensions; and that very sound reasons of state policy demand an immediate and decisive settlement of a question fraught with such manifest elements of disunion and disquietude to all the great interests of the nation."

"Your memorialists, therefore, would loyally and respectfully beseech your Majesty not to suffer the interests of your subjects to be postponed to the exigencies of a temporizing Administration or any party difficulties that may conflict with sound maxims of constitutional policy; but that your Majesty, in the just exercise of your Royal prerogative, will cause the great issue now pending between the responsible advisers of the Crown and the people at large to be forthwith and finally determined by a speedy dissolution of Parliament."

"And your memorialists will ever pray."

The memorial, seconded by Mr. Bazley, was unanimously carried. When Mr. Bazley told Sir Robert Peel, a few days before his death, how well the free-trade measures had answered, Sir Robert replied, very emphatically, "I am exceedingly glad to hear what you tell me; take care to keep what you have got." An anecdote which elicited immense applause.

At the conclusion of the meeting, it was resolved to commence a subscription, which in twenty-five minutes realized 27,500*l*.! The meeting separated with three hearty cheers for the revival of the League.

ELECTION MATTERS.

MR. DISRAELI's address to the electors of Buckinghamshire is remarkable. After announcing the fact of his acceptance of office, and again claiming their suffrages, he proceeds as follows:—

"The late Administration fell to pieces from internal dissension, and not from the assault of their opponents; and notwithstanding the obvious difficulties of our position, we have felt that to shrink from encountering them would be to leave the country without a government, and Her Majesty without servants. Our first duty will be to provide for the ordinary and current exigencies of the public service; but, at no distant period, we hope, with the concurrence of the country, to establish a policy in conformity with the principles which in opposition we have felt it our duty to maintain."

"We shall endeavour to terminate that strife of classes which, of late years, has exercised so pernicious an influence over the welfare of this kingdom; to accomplish those remedial measures which great productive interests, suffering from unequal taxation, have a right to demand from a just Government; to cultivate friendly relations with all foreign powers, and secure honourable peace; to uphold in their spirit, as well as in their form, our political institutions; and to increase the efficiency, as well as maintain the rights, of our National and Protestant Church."

"An Administration formed with these objects, and favourable to progressive improvement in every department of the State, is one which we hope may obtain the support and command the confidence of the community, whose sympathies are the best foundation for a strong Administration, while they are the best security for a mild government."

Some of the newly appointed Conservative officials have reason to feel uneasy about their re-election. A new candidate for Kildare, in opposition to Lord Naas, has appeared in the person of Mr. William Cogan, a Roman-catholic gentleman of the county; preparations are made for an earnest contest, and there are many chances that the Irish Secretary will not obtain his seat. Mr. Whiteside and Sir Emerson Tennent also appear to be in some danger for Enniskillen and Lisburn.

Immediately on Sir Frederick Thesiger's name being made a fixture on the list of official appointments, General Caulfield, his antagonist in two former contests, appeared in the field for Abingdon. The note of challenge, however, had scarcely sounded, when a

capitulation was effected in favour of the Attorney-General "for this occasion only," on condition that he should abstain from all opposition to General Caulfield at the next general election. The Conservatives of Bath applied lately to Sir Frederick Thesiger to be their candidate at the general election, but he declined, and recommended his friend Mr. Whately, Q.C., who has been in due course requested to visit Bath to give an explanation of his views. Mr. Whately is said to be a Protectionist. But there is little reason to think that either of the present liberal members will be displaced.

The new Colonial Secretary, Sir John Pakington, has issued his address to the "independent" electors of the "ancient borough" of Droitwich. He reserves the explanation of his political views for the time when he shall be able to meet them "at their homes and at the hustings."

There is no sign of opposition at present to the re-election of Lord Henry Lennox, now one of the Lords of the Treasury, for the city of Chichester: the dual influence of the house of Richmond is strong there.

A cordial reconciliation has taken place between the two sections of Liberals in Leeds, and they are resolved to return two decided reformers and free-traders.

Lord Frederick Fitzclarence and Mr. Serjeant Gaselee are rival candidates for Portsmouth, Sir George Staunton retiring; Serjeant Gaselee has addressed a public meeting of the electors, and declared himself in favour of household suffrage and the ballot, free-trade, abolition of abuses in the church, and reduction of expenditure.

Mr. J. Vance, a Conservative member of the Irish bar, is to start for Dublin in company with Mr. Grogan, and it is said that that party are quite sanguine about their success at the general election. Various names are mentioned as candidates on the Liberal side, however, and the contest will certainly be severe.

Mr. Mowatt does not intend to offer himself again to the electors of Falmouth and Penryn.

Some Whigs of the borough of Colechester, in their anxiety to oblige a wealthy landowner of the neighbourhood, Mr. G. Rebou, have damaged the chances of a successful opposition to Lord John Manners. Mr. Wingrove Cooke, Lord John's opponent at the last election, was to have been nominated; but as soon as Mr. Rebou intimated his desire to stand, some of the "more prudent" members of the party decided to support him. Mr. Cooke, not wishing to divide the liberal party, withdrew. But at the last moment Mr. Rebou required that Mr. Hardcastle, the present liberal member for the borough, should not stand in his way at the next election, and this not being conceded, he refused to stand. At the solicitation of his friends, Mr. Wingrove Cooke has gone down to Colechester again, but whether he will be able to retrieve his lost time is doubtful.

Mr. R. A. Christopher has addressed the following letter to the electors of North Lincolnshire:—

"GENTLEMEN,—Her Majesty having been graciously pleased to entrust to my care the seals of the Duchy of Lancaster, I again appeal to your suffrages. I accept office under the administration of the Earl of Derby, from a conviction of his sincere desire to reverse that financial and commercial policy which has proved so injurious to native industry and capital. It is on this ground that I confidently rely on your support in again conferring on me the proud distinction of representing your interests in the House of Commons; and enabling me to give my humble but earnest aid to a government which will maintain the honour of the Queen, and the permanence of our sacred and civil institutions."

London, 28th February, 1852. R. A. CHRISTOPHER.

Unlike Mr. Christopher, Mr. Henley, the new President of the Board of Trade, has written an address to the electors of Oxfordshire, succinctly relating by what steps the old government was broken up and the new one formed, but not vouchsafing a single word as to his policy or principles!

Mr. J. C. Herries, the new President of the Board of Control, will not be opposed at Stamford, as the Marquis of Exeter's influence in the borough is too strong to afford any liberal candidate a chance.

Mr. William Coningham has issued an address to the electors of the Tower Hamlets, announcing himself as a candidate for the general election. His views are well known to our readers, both on political and social questions.

A large body of the liberal members of the House of Commons have been invited to meet Lord John Russell on the 11th inst., with a view to some determination on the present position of public affairs.

Sir John Pakington was returned unopposed on Thursday. He adhered rigidly to the Derby policy in his speech, professing his individual opinion to be in favour of a fixed duty on corn, but he was willing to abide the verdict of public opinion. He made much of the Protestant cry, declared his intention of voting against the Manooch grant, and dwelt lengthily on differential sugar duties. On the same day, Lord John Manners was returned for Colchester, after a talking

opposition from Mr. Wingrove Cooke. Lord John Manners does not violate the Derby prudence very much. He says "that a great reform and revision of the tariff are asked for at the hands of the government;" and he trusts "that a verdict of the sound judging people of England will be given in favour of tariff reform." As a set-off for a bread-tax, he vaguely promises measures of social improvement, and hints at measures harmonizing the relations of employer and employed.

Colonel Forester is returned for Wenlock, and Lord Henry Lennox for Chichester, unopposed. Lord Henry denies that Lord Derby is "pledged to anything!" and "more than that, he is pledged to obey the will of the people, as announced by the next general election!"

Mr. Secretary Walpole, in his address to the electors of Midhurst, speaks generally of maintaining the principles of "a true and just conservative policy;" and Mr. George Banks (Judge Advocate) tells his Dorset constituents that he has sacrificed "no principle" in accepting office.

Mr. Frederick Peel makes the upholding of "free trade" the main point of his address to Leominster, where, at the next election, he will be opposed by a Protectionist.

LETTERS FROM PARIS. [FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER X.

Paris, Tuesday, March 2, 1852.

I HAVE but a meagre budget of news for you this week. The elections have absorbed public attention for the last few days. Sunday and Monday were the days of voting. The results in the provinces are not yet announced. In Paris, the government candidates have been elected in the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th *arrondissements*. In the 3rd, General Cavaignac, by a majority of 1000. His election under present circumstances is a veritable protest. In the 4th and 5th *arrondissements*, where none of the candidates obtained the requisite majority, there will be a second voting on Sunday the 14th inst.

Only the Bonapartists have made any considerable stir this time. The Royalists have shown but little movement; the Republicans have remained indifferent; and the Socialists have abstained altogether. The electoral movement has been purposeless and without animation. On Friday last scarcely any electors had called for their tickets. So absolute was the apathy of the population, that certain of the mayors of Paris and of the suburbs were obliged to address a circular to the electors favourable to the *good cause*, to invite them to get their tickets. On December 20, the citizens stood in a file at the gates of their sections to draw their electoral tickets: this time, the number of distributors exceeded the drawers—and of these latter, it should be observed, that the majority were functionaries or *employés* of the government, obliged to manifest their zeal. In the Faubourgs, the workmen abstained almost to a man: "It is absurd," they said, "to vote for men who will have no power to act." It was only by an accident that, at Paris, the opposition candidates, Michel Goudchaux, Carnot, and Cavaignac, were able to get placards posted in their favour. The Government required their addresses to be stamped and on coloured paper: the privilege of white paper being reserved exclusively for the Government nominees, as it usually is for the Decrees of the Executive. The nominees had the additional advantage of the Prefect of the Seine's countersign, or of the local mayor's; and what is even more rich, their placards were printed and posted at the expense of the municipality!

In short, no preference, no privilege, was spared to the nominees of Government; no hindrance, no vexation, no intimidation, to the independent candidates. At Paris, one opposition circular, only, was officially tolerated: that of M. Mortimer Ternaux. This gentleman, after he had received due authorization, proposed to have 40,000 copies struck off, being the number of his opponent's placards. The latter's were stamped, and distributed *gratis* by the post. M. Mortimer Ternaux hoped for the same privilege. He counted without his host: for he was officially warned by the Government, that if he allowed any unstamped copies of his circular to be distributed, they would be instantly seized, and proceedings commenced against him. Now the fine incurred, in such a case, falls not on the collective impression, but on each several copy in contravention; so that 10,000 copies, at 100 francs fine each, would amount to a million of francs, (40,000*l.*) M. Mortimer Ternaux found himself compelled to get his copies stamped; but instead of 40,000 he restricted the number to 4000.

So minute and incessant were the obstacles thrown in the way of opposition candidates, whether by petty annoyances or by threats, that many who at first proposed to start, withdrew at last. Many highly honourable names, both in the Republican and in the Con-

servative party, are cited as having retired, under this pressure, from a useless struggle. To some, menaces, direct and categorical—to others, indirect and equivocal—were addressed.

It must be confessed, however, that the Government did not dissemble the part it took in the elections. Every Prefect openly enjoined the electors to vote for the nominees of Power. As models of prefectorial style, the circulars of the Prefect of Lyons, and of M. Berger, the Prefect of the Seine, are specially mentioned. In every *mairie* and *commune* of France, printed bulletins of the Government nominations were distributed at the expense of the localities. Moreover, the Government declared in the official journals, and by instructions to all the prefects, that no names of citizens banished by the Decree of January 10, would be sanctioned. Authorization to print the name of *Lamoricière* was refused.

In many departments the independent candidates were not even able to get their candidature announced in the journals. The journals were warned by authority that the publication of the bare names would expose them to immediate suspension. A ministerial circular expressly enjoined the prefects, sous-prefets, and other agents of authority, to prevent, by force, if necessary, any bulletins but those of official candidates being distributed. In pursuance, too, of ministerial instructions, the Prefects warned such journalists as might think themselves free to write by virtue of the new press law, that attacks against the government candidates would expose them to the severest measures, even to suppression. Any complaint, written in good French, against the electoral frauds which authority might have the fancy to perpetrate, was strictly forbidden to these unlucky journalists. An ex-representative of the Vendée, M. Lunéau, a conservative, had ventured to present himself as a candidate well disposed to the government, but independent; for this simple fact, or rather for this simple word, M. Lunéau was forbidden to print his circular. It is well understood that M. Bonaparte will not hear of independence in the legislative body. What was it the *Constitutionnel* said a few days since, when it exclaimed in pompous phrase, "All that the French people reserved to itself in the disposal of its rights was the nomination of the legislative body?" Was ever lying more shameless? After what precedes, you may well divine the results of the provincial elections. With the rare exceptions of a few *exceptional* *arrondissements*, the majority will belong to the government candidates. It is true that at least half of these candidates were determined beforehand by the opinion of localities, and are only government selections by name. But in any case Louis Bonaparte will have attained his object—to make Europe believe that he has the majority of the country on his side.

On the anniversary of the 24th of February, a popular demonstration was attempted on the Place de la Bastille. A great number of citizens presented themselves on that spot to lay at the foot of the column crowns of *immortelles*, in honour of the victims of the "days of February."

At first the *sergents-de-ville* contented themselves with removing the crowns as fast as they were deposited; but later in the day, when the crowd had become considerable, the demonstration was forcibly dispersed by a piquet of lancers preceded by a mass of *sergents-de-ville*. Forty persons, according to the official journals, were arrested.

All is falsehood in the present regime under which France is labouring. The law itself is a lie. You have remarked how the stamp law is applied to the candidates of the Opposition, and to Government nominees. Let me tell you how the new law on the press is brought into operation. According to this new law, the censorship is abolished: but as in the acts of this infamous Government falsehood is paramount, the *Echo du Midi* has been seized by order of the Prefect de l'Hérault, for having dared to dispense with the necessity of submitting the proofs to the censorship, after the publication of the Decree on the Press.

Au reste, journals and journalists are throughout France exposed to the severest rigour. I informed you in January, that it was the intention of Government to decree the banishment of about one hundred journalists. The bitter hostility with which the first decrees of proscription of the 10th of January were received by public opinion, caused the measure to be deferred; at present, the Government, wanting boldness enough to take openly the initiative, executes its vindictive purposes stealthily and in detail. A certain number of clandestine expulsions of journalists have been effected within the last few days. Among others are mentioned M. I. Martinet (de l'*Ordre*); M. Camille Berru (de l'*Événement*); M. Fauvety, formerly editor of the *Représentant du Peuple*; M. J. Viard, of the *Courrier de Dijon*, and many other writers of distinction.

Another hypocrisy I have to record is, the false

announcement in the government journals that Guinard, (formerly colonel of the Artillery of the National Guard, and condemned for the *échauffourée* of June 13, 1849) had been pardoned. Guinard has written to the *Constitutionnel* the following reply to the fabrication.

Citadel of Doullens, 20th February, 1852.

SIR,—I am informed that the number of your journal which reached Doullens this morning states, that the President of the Republic has granted a pardon to the *détenu* Guinard, sentenced by the High Court of Versailles, in consequence of the affair of June 13, 1849.

You have been incorrectly informed: what is granted is to those who beg: and I have never begged a favour of the government of December 2nd.

It is not that I accept the condemnation of the High Court of Versailles. M. Denain, one of the principal editors of your journal, should remember, that on June 14, 1849, I presented myself more than once in the offices of the *Constitutionnel* to demand the insertion of a letter, for the purpose of rectifying inexact statements of acts attributed to the Legion of Artillery.

This legion had, as ever, done its duty; I alone was responsible for its acts, and I was unwilling to escape by flight, when flight was easy, from the tribunals of my country.

Although that court has passed a severe sentence upon us, my conscience protects me as firmly as on the first day: and the condemnation pronounced against citizens claiming the exercise of a constitutional right, and defending a disarmed population against the most disgraceful violence, is still in my eyes a great iniquity. But I have grown old enough in political struggles to know how to resign myself to ill-fortune, and to suffer with constancy when I suffer for truth and for the rights of the people. May I trust to your loyalty, Sir, to insert this letter.

A. GUINARD.

A similar protest on the part of the prisoners of the *Lot et Garonne* is sufficiently concise.

"We are still in duress: we have commissioned no man to bargain for our release. We await with courage the end of our captivity." Facts like these, console.

In a great many quarters prisoners have been discharged: their places are filled by new arrests.

Letters received from unfortunate citizens transported without form of trial, and confined on board the *Duquesclin*, at Brest, state that 300 of them are to be conveyed very shortly to Lambessa, in Africa; 125 others have been set at liberty.

A variety of decrees have recently appeared in the *Moniteur*. The most important of the number organizes a system of *crédit foncier*—(agricultural credit.) According to this decree, the Government may authorize either lenders or borrowers to constitute themselves into mortgage loan societies. These societies will have the right to emit bank notes under the name of "letters of pledge"—(*lettres de gage*.) The institution of *lettres de gage* (Pfandbriefs) is borrowed from Prussia and Poland, where it is said to have produced satisfactory results. These letters of pledge will bear interest at five per cent. The interest will be paid by means of annuities subscribed by the borrowing proprietors. These annuities, besides the interest on the "letters of pledge," are to include two per cent. as a sinking fund on the borrower's capital, and one per cent., at least, for charges of administration. By this system, proprietors of land or houses will be able to find money on mortgage at eight per cent., redemption included, which they could not do before. It was by no means rare to see mortgage loans returning twelve, fifteen, and twenty-two per cent. *per annum*. The rural population were the chief victims of this monstrous usury. This decree had been in contemplation for three years.

Before the end of this week the decree will appear which fixes the Budget of 1852, without the intervention of the legislative corps. It is a sum of fifteen hundred millions of francs (£60,000,000) that Louis Bonaparte is about to dispose of at his good pleasure, without any control whatever. It will be the most monstrous act in the entire financial history of civilized nations.

Another decree, anxiously looked for, is to suppress the University, and to hand over the monopoly of instruction to the Catholic clergy. From what has transpired of the dispositions of this decree, there is to be only one public college to each department: at present there are five or six. The Normal School, that prolific nursery of distinguished professors, that fountain-head of profound studies, is to be sacrificed to the vengeance of the clergy. The College of France will be closed. The professorships, made illustrious by such men as Guizot, Cousin, Villain, Michelet, Michel Chevalier, and so many other celebrated men of science and learning, historians, publicists, and economists, will be destroyed. The faculty of letters itself, before which all the high examinations were carried on, will be suppressed. What is more; in horror of a philosophy which might teach men their rights, as it teaches them their duties,

the chairs of philosophy will be silenced in all the colleges and educational establishments, and replaced by a second year of rhetoric and a course of logic. I forbear to say more, for to write calmly is impossible.

How fare the negotiations with the Comte de Chambord, to obtain of him his abdication in favour of the Comte de Paris, is not yet known. One thing, however, I do know—that the fusion of the two branches is now, more than ever, *à l'ordre du jour*. The majority of the most eminent leaders of the Legitimists and of the Orleanists are agreed upon the necessity of this fusion.

It is reported that the two most eminent leaders, one of the liberal party, the other of the *tiers parti*, and an ex-president of the council of state, have come to an understanding, and are ready to declare and to publish that there is no safety for France but in the restoration of the traditional monarchy. There three men are M.M. Odilon Barrot, Thiers, and Cormenin.

Legitimist songs are already in circulation in Paris. There is one in particular in which the Comte de Chambord is called "*Henri Quatre second*."

The French government has just sent an *ultimatum* to Switzerland on the subject of the refugees. In this *ultimatum*, Louis Bonaparte energetically maintains all his imperious demands relative to the designation of refugees for expulsion from the Swiss territory, and strongly recommends the Federal government to "reflect on the consequences their resistance might entail." In other words, to resist the pretensions of M. Louis Bonaparte is to declare war.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

Our Continental Notes of this week may be summarily dismissed in a few brief sentences. We do not suspect our readers of taking any interest in the squabbles of North and South Germany, Prussia, and Austria, large and small states, seaboard and inland Germany, about the possession, the dismantling, the sale, or the maintenance of that rather mythical creation, the German fleet! Nor do we imagine that the reported movements of the King, the Emperor, or some minor prince or other, are very valuable as news. We are told that in Weimar, that pleasant and artistic duchy, "in consequence of the adoption of the new electoral law by the Diet, all the members of the Opposition have resigned." Indeed! our readers will say. But it is interesting to many to learn, that the meeting of the Austrian congress at Berlin, has been definitively fixed for March 29. Beneath the struggle for commercial supremacy between Austria and Prussia, the struggle for political preponderance, which in '48 was so insanely led off in the mountebank-mystic style by our hitherto friend, the descendant of Frederick the Great, and in '49 had almost brought the empire and the kingdom to a shock of arms, is easily recognised. Politically and commercially, the contest is of great moment to England.

Another fact, distressing in itself, perplexing to our Protectionists, grateful to farmers, and serviceable as "capital" to our Free-traders, is, that the Prussian Minister of Finance has announced that the duties of entry on importation of corn, flour, and vegetables, are suspended for all the States of the Zollverein till the 31st of August, on account of the extreme dearth.

The probable dissolution of the Wurtemberg Chambers (the sole liberal parliament now extant in Germany), for having again asserted the "fundamental rights" suppressed by the Diet, is but another evidence of the now all-embracing reaction.

From TRIEN we learn that on the 25th ult. the Senate adopted the new law on the press, modifying the law of the 26th March, 1848, and withdrawing from the cognizance of juries offences against Foreign governments, by 49 to 3; and by 46 to 2, the bill authorising the Government to adopt certain movements of public safety. We fear that on this last-named measure, bearing the ominous title of "public safety," something more than the "preservation of the public liberties from excess" is intended. The situation of Piedmont, we have often said, and are always ready to concede, is quite exceptional; but it is not her interest, still less is it the interest of her King, to Austrianize. All these indications go to establish the incompatibility of continental monarchy with popular liberty, however wisely regulated.

At Rome there has been a police-discovery of explosive shells, and numerous arrests of innocent persons in consequence.

From one end of the Continent to the other English travellers are treated with great suspicion; as, in fact, congenial revolutionists.

To return to France, we have a fact to record about M. Bandsept, whom we mentioned in our last number but one, as an ex-representative of the people, now working as a journeyman shoemaker in London. M. Bandsept was a representative of the Bas Rhin. In that department there are now two journals; one

Bonapartist, the other Democratic. The latter published the forged appeal to the President for pardon,* with bitter comments, as the act of a deserter. When the official notification appeared in the *Moniteur* from M. Bandsept himself, the democratic journal of the Bas Rhin was naturally eager to publish the denial as it had published the forgery; but, no! the elections were nigh at hand; Louis Bonaparte wanted political capital for the occasion. This generous pardon to a democratic representative, and a working man, was just the bait to catch the electors. True, it was proved and confessed, even by the *Moniteur*, to be a forgery, but what of that? it was wanted.

M. Sauvaire Barthélemy, the Legitimist, a devoted catholic, presented himself as a candidate in the department of the Bouches du Rhône. To his extreme surprise, he found himself opposed by the clergy, who prefer Louis Bonaparte to a mere "good Catholic." It is true that M. Barthélemy was an independent candidate; and he makes no secret of his detestation of what he calls the most detestable oppression ever inflicted upon a country.

LOUIS BLANC AND MAZZINI.

WHAT FRENCH SOCIALISM IS, AND IS NOT.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

LETTER III.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH WHAT M. MAZZINI, IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDS OF ITALY, CALLS "THE ABSURD, SAVAGE, AND IMMORAL DREAM OF COMMUNISM."

FIRST of all, it is important to come to an understanding about terms. What is Communism, such as it has been understood in France by some of those whom M. Mazzini designates by the name of "system-makers and sectarians?"

There are, in the vocabulary of party passions, certain unlucky words which seem to have been created for no other purpose than to serve as a *resumé* to all forms of calumny. Before the Revolution of February, 1848, the word employed by the people's enemies as a weapon for the moral assassination of their defenders, was the word REPUBLICAN. To be a republican in the reign of Louis Philippe was to dream of nothing but disorder and destruction; it was to be a heartless, bloodthirsty wretch; it was to desire for France, dragged back to the sombre *régime* of the Terror, a permanent scaffold set up in the public square, and the equality of citizens beneath the axe of the executioner. Yet, what occurred?

It came to pass that no sooner were they masters of events, than these very republicans, who had been represented as so fierce, anxiously hastened to moderate the triumph even before the combat had ceased; granted a noble amnesty to the conquered; refrained from proscription as the crime of cowards; abolished the punishment of death; and, in the name of civilization, disavowed for evermore the guillotine.

The long and abominable calumny that had lasted now fifty years must needs be renounced. The word REPUBLICAN found itself suddenly tolerated again. Tolerated, do I say? The provisional government had no sooner proclaimed the REPUBLIC, than every man held out his hand to it. Innumerable and glowing were the assurances of devotion to the new idea. From M. Odilon Barrot even, up to M. de Montalembert, from M. de La Roche Jacquelin down even to M. Louis Bonaparte, all rushed to the defence, leaving behind them the baggage of their royalist opinions or of their royalist pretensions. The generals, the magistracy, the high public functionaries, the *Cour de Cassation*, the *Cour des Comptes*, hastened to perform a solemn act of republicanism at the Hôtel de Ville; and it was the very writer of these present lines who at that moment received, in the name of the Provisional government, the adhesions of the constituted bodies.

Finally, on the first day of meeting of the Assembly sprung from universal suffrage, on the 4th of May, 1848, the cry of *Vive la République!* was raised as many as twenty times in a single sitting, by the royalists of yesterday!

It was thus that the word REPUBLICAN escaped calumny. Calumny looked about for another, and found COMMUNIST.

The COMMUNISTS were one of the schools which the aggregate body was designated by the generic term (since become so famous) of SOCIALISM.

The sum of their peculiar doctrines may be thus stated:

The Communists recognised and proclaimed the inequality of men in strength, in faculties, in wants; but they maintained that all are equal in rights; that all have their destiny to accomplish; and that, con-

* See *Leader*, No. 100.

† See all the journals in which a report of that memorable sitting appeared, and notably, the official *Moniteur*.

sequently, all have an equal right to the free development of their *different faculties*, and to the satisfaction of their *unequal wants*. To natural inequalities, the Communists were indisposed to add social inequalities, and to graft the one upon the other. They refused to believe that those who had been most generously endowed by nature were entitled to be still more prodigally endowed by society. In their eyes, the difference of capacities, and the inequalities of natural endowment, emphatically signified diversity of aptitudes, and the speciality of vocations; they were meant to determine the employment, the function, the graduated rank of each functionary, but without conferring any particular privilege in the distribution of the means of moral or natural enjoyment. The Communists, then, sanctioned the principle of graduated ranks, but they rested it upon the recognised diversity of aptitudes, and not on the accident of birth. Regarding all functions as equally honourable, so long as they are useful, and accepting the admirable maxim of the Gospel, they demanded that all functionaries, from the first to the last, should be hailed as members of the great human family, and should live like true brethren, conformably to the law of Christ.

To work according to our strength, our faculties, our natural aptitudes; such was, according to the Communists, DUTY. To enjoy, according to our wants and tastes, within the limit of the resources of the community—such was RIGHT. The Communists thought that the rights of all would be fully guaranteed, if each accomplished his duty: that is to say, acknowledged and respected the rights of others as he would that his own rights should be acknowledged and respected. Repudiating any idea of constraint, or the employment of coercive measures, they trusted for the regular development and maintenance of a social order so constituted, to the interest of each, rightly understood, when true notions of the social science should be sufficiently disseminated, and to the power of *attractive* work when, instead of being bent down by misery under the yoke of labour, not voluntarily undertaken, often foreign to the natural dispositions of the man condemned to pursue it, every man should be called to fulfil his vocation, to exercise the function of his choice—to occupy, in a word, that post in society for which God himself, when he created him with certain peculiar qualities, and with certain predominating tastes, had in some sort designed him. Distribution being no longer subservient to the grade of the workman, the Communists concluded that in this social order of their creation, mediocrity would have no further interest in soliciting high offices, in caballing to obtain some special function or other: they were convinced that the most able and the most worthy would be naturally, and by an elective process, called to the supreme direction, and that they would be so much the more beloved and honoured that their superior rank would confer no privilege. It is scarcely necessary to add, that, by universal and gratuitous education, the Communists invited all children, without exception, to come and take their place at the grand sources of human knowledge; just as by their system of distribution they tended to assure to all men, without exception, their place at the banquet of life.*

To those who were disposed to accuse them of encouraging an idle dream, of abandoning themselves to the deceptive charms of an impracticable Utopia, the Communists replied, that such had ever been the fate of a new idea, to be reputed impossible, till it had received application; that the earliest inventor of the steam-engine, the precursor of Watt, was thrown into a Lunatic Asylum, by way of recognition of his sublime discovery; that Galileo was forced to demand pardon on his knees for having professed the *impious error* of the earth's rotation; that in the history of knowledge, every new truth has been at its birth Utopian; that, moreover, the Communists were far from asserting that their system was capable of off-hand application; that they were perfectly awake to obstacles; that they contented themselves, in consequence, with pointing from afar to the end to be attained, without in any way pretending to destroy the road which would progressively conduct thither, without removing the intermediate stations.

In any case, the Communists would have had no right to complain if their speculations had been simply neglected, and themselves treated as dreamers. What else could they have fairly expected? But what did the enemies of the people? No longer having at their disposal the word REPUBLICAN, with which they had so long surprised the good faith of simple souls, abused ignorance, and misled opinion, they caught up, as the

* This exposition of the Communist doctrines is not my own. It is the faithful *resumé* of the doctrine as it has been developed in the treatises of the most enlightened of the Socialist writers, M. Francois Vidal "*On the distribution of wealth, and of distributive justice in Social Economy.*"

future instrument of their calumnies, the word COMMUNIST. A doctrine of the COMMUNISTS was, that all children should be admitted to enjoy the benefits of education, at the expense of society, as is now the privilege of the children of the rich exclusively; on that doctrine the lying accusation was grafted, that the Communists aimed at the destruction of the family. The Communists had described as the fortune reserved by Progress for Humanity, a social order in which the forces of society should be treated as a common fund for production, and the RESOURCES for consumption; but in which every individual should preserve his independence, his personality, the freedom of his affections, the choice of his friends; should have his own apartments, his own domestic interior, his own hearth, an inviolable sanctuary; with common rooms for reception, for recreation, for reading,—on the principle adopted practically at the Brunnen in Germany, at the Thermal establishments in the Pyrenees, in the grand hotels of our cities, in the clubs of London. But here was enough, and more than enough, for a text to the infamous accusation that the Communists desired a promiscuity of women and of children, and I know not what abominable amalgam of confusion.

Unfortunately, this odious system of calumny was promoted by two circumstances. First, by the complex itself of the word *Communism*,—an expression deplorably selected, as in truth it seemed to imply the idea of promiscuity, and which the Communists had the imprudence to employ before its precise significance could be known; and, secondly, by the power of the calumniators, compared with the feeble resources at the disposal of the traduced. Two or three journals of a very limited circulation, a few books of very confined publicity: this was all the Communists had to oppose to the most formidable propaganda of falsehood ever organized.

Every one knows for what end the famous league of the *Rue de Poitiers* was established. Inspired by M. de Montalembert, the man of the Jesuits—by that M. de Montalembert, to whom nothing more was wanting but to become the man of Louis Bonaparte, to fill up the measure of his dishonour—this league of the *Rue de Poitiers* opened a subscription, by means of which it succeeded in collecting nearly a million francs, on the pretence of "saving society."

And this sum was spent in calumniating Socialism in general, and *Communism* in particular, by an overwhelming inundation of libels. In these flying sheets, whosever was guilty of the crime of desiring any amelioration profitable to the people, was christened COMMUNIST: and to be *Communist* in these libels, edited by the pen of Basile, the hireling of Escobar, was to desire the equal division of the land and the agrarian law,—although the Communists supported the principle of large farms;—it was to desire promiscuous concubinage, although the Communists defended the principle of marriage;—it was to desire the annihilation of religion, although the Communists had laid down as the basis of their social economy—the *Gospel*; yes! the *Gospel*!

Terrible was the effect of these pamphlets, distributed in profusion, and given away in every town, and in every village, even to the remotest hamlets.

On the one hand, many sincere and honourable, but uneducated men, were basely deceived as to the intentions and the principles of writers to whom were attributed (but not supported by a single extract) these monstrous doctrines: and, on the other hand, a certain number of wretches, rejoiced to be told that there was in active existence a party espousing their evil passions, declared themselves of *that party*, whose existence they were led to suppose. What was the result? Strange, indeed, and worthy to find a record in the annals of calumny!

False denunciation created a reality out of a bugbear! Spoliation was the doctrine of men incited by the secret police to alarm the *bourgeoisie*; but who never had a thought in common with that Communist school, essentially opposed to whatever, nearly or remotely, resembled agrarianism.

I have promised to rest my reply upon facts; to affirm nothing without PROOFS of my assertion.

Here is the proclamation, dated February 25th, 1848, in the heat of the insurrection, which M. Cabet addressed to the Communists, and caused to be placarded on all the walls of Paris:—

"Let us rally round the Provisional Government presided over by Dupont de l'Eure, and which replaces the odious government recently stained with the blood of citizens.

Let us support this provisional government which declares itself republican and democratic: which adopts fraternity, equality, and liberty for its principles; and the People for device and watchword: and which dissolves the Chambers to convocate the National Assembly, which will give to France the constitution she demands.

But let us take care ourselves constantly to insist upon the consequences of these principles.

Let us demand that all Frenchmen be declared BROTHERS; equal in duties and in rights, without any kind of privilege: all members of the National Guard: all electors and eligible to all the public functions, without any vile pecuniary conditions.

Let us demand the natural and unrescriptible right of association, of meeting, and of discussion: individual liberty, without the arbitrary control of any man: the liberty of the press without hindrances, without caution-money, or stamp.

Let us especially demand the guarantee of all the rights and all the interests of working-men: the formal recognition of the right to live working, so that the father of a family be no more reduced to the terrible necessity of abandoning his wife and his children to go and die fighting.

Let us demand the organization of labour, and the assurance of a fair livelihood by fair work.

Let us demand the suppression of all taxes on objects of primary necessity.

Let us demand the abolition of the humiliating, vexatious, and iniquitous institutions of the Customs and the Octroi.

Let us demand, for the people, education made general, gratuitous, common to all, real and complete.

Let us demand institutions and guarantees for the happiness of WIVES and of CHILDREN, so that every man may have the possibility of marriage, with the certainty of being able to rear up his family in happiness and comfort.

Faithful to our principles of fraternity, humanity, and moderation, let us cry, always, and in all places—No vengeance! no disorder! no violence!—no oppression towards any person! But firmness, vigilance, and prudence: that we may obtain justice for all!

No attack upon property: but unshaken perseverance in demanding all means that justice may accept, to suppress PAUPERISM: notably by adopting a democratic system of successively decreasing inequality, and successively increasing equality.

Let us beware of demanding the instant application of our Communist doctrines. We have always said that we desire their triumph *through discussion only*, through conviction, through the power of public opinion, by individual consent, and by the national will: let us remain faithful to our words!"

Well, now what does M. Mazzini think of this? Is this what he thinks himself justified in calling the wild, absurd, and immoral dream of Communism? It will not do for him to come forward and say, that if there are in France certain Communist opinions, avowable by honest men, there are others which deserve to be branded with disgrace, and that it is of the latter only that he meant to speak. For my own part, I protest, my hand upon my heart, I have never in my life met in France, either the exposition in a book, or the profession by word of mouth, of the savage, absurd, and immoral Communism which M. Mazzini does well to repudiate, but whose existence he has done wrong to take for granted on the faith of libels black with falsehoods and calumnies,—a snare into which a mind like his might well have refused to follow the train of obscure and perverted intellects, for which it was contrived.

LOUIS BLANC.

(To be continued.)

PROGRESS OF ASSOCIATION.

MEETING AT BRIGHTON.

At the Brighton Town-hall, a large assembly, mustering at least a thousand, consisting mainly of the mechanics employed at the workshops of the Brighton Railway Company, met on Thursday week, to hear the statements of Messrs. Newton and Usher, who attended as a deputation from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Mr. S. Laing, chairman of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway, was present, and took part in the discussion. Mr. W. Coningham presided, and stated that all doubt, if any existed, as to the merits of the dispute, must have been entirely removed by the "declaration" which the masters now required their workmen to sign, and which he made bold to assert that none but a tyrant would have dared to attempt to enforce. (Hear, hear.) He then read the "declaration," which prohibits the workmen from joining or contributing to any combination which seeks to interfere with any master's arrangements. Even the organ of the masters, the *Weekly Dispatch*, had declared against them on this point. Mr. Coningham then went into the history of the dispute, and contended that ten hours' work was as much as ought to be required of any man; and that it was not the system of piecework generally that was objected to, but that pernicious practice by which employers attempted to get extra work at the ordinary rate of pay. In the *Times*, the *Daily News*, and other papers, we frequently saw the words, "Engineers' Strike;" but it was not the men's strike, but the masters' strike, by which a great number of men were also turned out of work who had nothing at all to do with the dispute. Mr. Saunders moved, and Mr. Handcock seconded the resolution:—

"That in the opinion of this meeting, any interference on the part of the employers, or any attempt to control

* This proclamation appears at length among the *Pieces Justificatives*, in the admirable work recently published by Madame La Comtesse d'Ayault, under the title of *History of the Revolution of 1848*, and by the pseudonym of Daniel Stern.

the expenditure of their workmen's earnings, or to prevent them from contributing towards objects they may not approve, is an act of injustice (loud applause), and such as no body of artisans ought to submit to."

Mr. Usher commented on the "declaration" of the Central Association of Masters. As to signing it, the men would never do it; they were determined to stand by one another until the masters came and reasoned with them.

Mr. Nichols (employed in the Brighton workshops) agreed that piecework was a bad system, and so was systematic overtime, and those who originated the dispute had to complain of both. But in the Brighton Company neither obtained; there was no piecework, and the only overtime required was when cases of accident or emergency arose. Then why were notices served on the Company against what did not exist here?

Mr. Newton said, that if there was nothing to complain of in Brighton, the men would not complain.

"The sole point in dispute in Brighton was, that the men felt inclined to assist those in other places who were not fairly dealt with, and the directors said they should not. But the fact of twelve men having been discharged, and the rest put on five days a-week, showed that continuous work could not be secured in Brighton; and as the men might next week leave and go to London, it was their interest to support the Amalgamated Society, which sought to get for the workmen as good regulations in other places as existed in Brighton. The directors could not surely complain of this; and as for the manner in which the men disposed of their wages, the directors had no more right to interfere with that than the men had to interfere with the use of the locomotive for which they had been paid. The men had not refused to work overtime on emergencies, and they had not claimed double time for doing so. They, then, had been neutral; and if the company had not reduced the work to five days, in order to deprive the men of the means of subsisting a day's wages to their brethren, then they had observed a neutrality. (Laughter.) But on the authority of Mr. Fielding, he stated that the reduction to five days was made to deprive them of the means of so subsisting."

Mr. Laing then came forward, and was much applauded. He believed he was as sincere a friend to the working classes as any one in the room. He saw to reason why employers and employed should not meet and discuss these matters fully and fairly, for much of the feeling on both sides arose from misunderstanding. Some people imagined that the general feeling of the capitalist towards the workman was that of the tyrant towards the slave. This was a mistake—

"There might be black sheep in the flock among rich men, as well as poor men, but the greater portion of the capitalists earnestly desired to elevate the condition of the working men. Speaking for himself, as an employer of labour, he said honestly, that his sympathies were all with the working classes. His greatest pride was to know that he had been a working man himself; and he wished for nothing more than to see every working man in a condition to elevate himself socially and morally. (Applause.) His belief was, that if they trusted to combinations and associations, they would be grievously mistaken. If they entered into the history of trades unions, they would find that in the countries where the working men stood highest, there were the fewest of these trades unions, and that where they were the most ready to combine, their condition was the lowest. ("What are the countries?") The country where the condition of the labouring classes stood highest, both for intelligence, and in a pecuniary way, was the United States of America. It was a well-known fact, that in the United States combinations were few. Again, in the opposite extreme of the scale is France. No man who has been in France would state that the condition of the French mechanic was as good as in England; and in France they did almost everything by combination. Again, would any one say that the average standard of intelligence is as high in Ireland as in Scotland and America? Ireland had been the country of trades unions. The only place where he ever heard that a strike carried the day was Dublin. And what was the result? They drove the trade away and ruined the town."

The real question was distinctly between combination and self-reliance. What had raised all the present difficulty? A council of seven in London wished to dictate to all the employers and trades of the kingdom what the terms and conditions of employment should be. They issued a general order to every establishment, including this Brighton Railway, without inquiring how far it was applicable, that piece-work shall cease, and overtime be paid double. Now, there might be establishments where overtime was carried to the greatest extent; there might be others where piece-work was injuriously enforced. "Very well. Bring public opinion to bear on them; go to Manchester and denounce them, if you like. But why issue general orders to people who had nothing to do with the dispute?" Why were 20,000 men and their families requiring support? No shop was closed until the council of the Amalgamated Society had been called upon to withdraw their notices, which they refused to do. Mr. Laing then accused the Amalgamated Society, on the evidence of their own accounts, of having paid money to "pickets" of men to coerce or intimidate those who were willing to work on terms which others had declined. The end of this present strike would be

that the mechanics would be defeated, as was the case with all strikes. (Cries of "Oh, no," and laughter.) A fall of wages would most certainly be the result of this strike.

"They would be told to the last that they were going on flourishingly, that they were carrying all before them, that their masters must submit; and some fine morning they would find the bubble burst, their funds wasted, their leaders compelled to emigrate, and the game over. (Cries of "No.")

The only plan for a workman to elevate his condition was by individual self-reliance and economy. And when they had got an investment in some bank, and not in the funds of some society over which they had no control, they would be independent of masters. (Hisses and interruption.) Mr. Coningham said, "I must entreat you to hear Mr. Laing. It is very important that we should hear the views of an employer." Mr. Laing concluded by begging the workmen not to be led away by hopes of insuring great comforts to every one by the labour of a few hours every day. "I give you," said he, "this advice, because I am your sincere friend, and don't like to see you here listening to bad advice. (Laughter.) I don't expect you to believe me now. ('I should think not.') But I have discharged my duty, and when the matter ends, as I know it will end, you will think of what I have said."

Mr. Newton said there were few trades unions in America, because the necessity of them did not exist; and France was in a bad state, because their trades unions, not being legalized, were secret societies; Ireland owed her wretchedness, not so much to trades unions as the aristocratic combinations in Orange lodges. As for seven men dictating to the employers, that was not true. They only carried into effect the orders of 12,000. Mr. Laing was wrong in saying that the charge for pickets was in the recent report. None had been paid during the last three or four years. Mr. Laing said that strikes were always unsuccessful, and that this would be unsuccessful also. He hoped so; for this was a strike of the employers against the men. (Laughter.)

The Chairman said that no great measure had ever been effected without combination. How was Catholic Emancipation carried? By combination. O'Connell was the Newton of the Catholic 'Amalgamation Society.' How was Free-trade carried? By a combination of the very employers who now denounced combination in their men. (Hear, hear.) He believed that combination was a most important means of social and political emancipation.

The motion was then passed into a resolution by the unanimous vote of the meeting. Thanks to Mr. Coningham closed the proceedings.

An important step was taken on Thursday. The Amalgamated Society invited the delegates of the metropolitan trades to meet them in St. Martin's Hall, and they responded to the invitation with great heartiness. The Hall was literally overflowing. Mr. Vansittart Neale presided. Mr. William Newton made a more than usually clear and comprehensive statement of the facts of the case as between themselves and their employers, and he asked the assistance of the trades in the formation of a large fund to be applied to co-operative purposes. He pointed out how there were millions in the savings' banks and in trades' societies, and asked why the working classes did not invest that capital in the employment of labour?

"It might be said that they could not safely embark in such an undertaking under the existing law of partnership, and that they should wait until the law was altered. He would only say, that if they waited till a legislative enactment pointed out the way, they might wait for ever; but if they showed they were in earnest in doing the thing for themselves, he believed the Government would feel it to be their duty to legalize what Lord Cranworth had said would exist, whether legalized or not. What they proposed, then, was, that a joint-stock company should be formed to enable the workmen to establish themselves permanently in associated workshops; that they should place some gentleman, similar to the chairman, at the head of the company; that they should incorporate that company by act of parliament, and make it a legal instrument for investing the savings of the working classes, who would be asked to take shares in it to the extent of their means, and that advantage should be taken of the machinery of the building societies so far as to allow the money so invested to be returned, say, upon a month's notice. What the Amalgamated Society wanted to know was, if the different trades of the country would assist them in carrying out such a scheme?" (Applause.)

The following resolutions, moved and seconded by Mr. G. W. Prideaux, cabinet-maker; Mr. J. Pettie, painter; Mr. T. C. Ollerenshaw, hatter; Mr. Edward Morgan, tailor; Mr. Brick, cigar maker; Mr. Leno, printer; were unanimously carried:—

"That, having heard the statements which have been made on behalf of the Amalgamated Society, this meeting hereby expresses its concurrence with their entire proceedings, and pledges itself to support the society in its resistance to the unjust measures of the employers of operative engineers;—That this meeting, believing that the independence

of the operatives of this country is threatened by the proceedings of the employers of operative engineers, pledges itself to take such measures for the effectual organization of the trades as will insure sufficient funds to conduct the present contest, and enable the workmen to establish themselves permanently in associative workshops; and, That a conference of the metropolitan trades be convened as early as possible to carry out the objects of the meeting, and that a committee (comprising certain workmen who were named) be appointed to take the necessary steps for convening the same."

The spirit of the meeting was most admirable, and the result encouraging.

SAMUEL FIELDEN ON THE MASTERS' STRIKE.

MR. SAMUEL FIELDEN, "well-known," as the *Times* acknowledges, "for his connexion with industrial operations, and for his consistent advocacy of the principles of humanity," addressed a letter to the "leading journal," which appeared on Tuesday, and which gives a plain statement of the controversy between the engineers and the masters who are "out on strike," brings the question at issue to a tangible point, and earnestly suggests an equitable arrangement by concessions. We have extracted some of the most important passages from his letter to the *Times*. After remarking on the injurious effects of the struggle on society in general, Mr. Fielden says:—

"To bring about a satisfactory settlement of differences between persons whose interests are deeply affected, and whose passions and prejudices have been excited against each other, it is necessary, clearly and determinedly, to state and maintain the truth between them. This, I think, has not been done; and although I by no means charge all the partisans of the masters with dishonesty of purpose, I cannot help thinking that we have seen them exhibit more instances of truth suppressed, and error suggested, than is to be found in party discussions of a more general character."

"What, then, are the leading facts in this case? On the 10th day of January last, some hundred masters expelled from their works the whole of the hands employed in them. These amounted to 20,000 men; and, if we suppose that two-thirds of them were married, and that, on the average, each married man had a wife and two children depending on him, here were 60,000 persons suddenly cast upon the world in a state of utter destitution. To talk of provocation in such a case is to insult our understanding. No provocation can justify such an act. To maintain such a position is to contend against every principle of social and religious duty. No; either there was an absolute necessity for this, or the deed is one of almost unexampled barbarity."

"The first question, then, is, was there such necessity? And this does not depend upon whether the views of the journeyman were right or wrong. Up to the 10th of January the men were at work—the business of the country was being done—the trade was not unprosperous—and society was undisturbed. In such a state of things there is nothing to indicate that an impossibility existed of arranging existing differences, whoever might be in the wrong. Let us, then, examine what was the state of facts prior to the masters' turn-out."

Mr. Fielden explains the distinction between mechanics and unskilled workmen; and shows that the benefit and trade societies do not differ from the various societies of "lawyers, doctors, traders, and publicans," whose object is to watch over, protect, and promote the interest of the class or profession.

"Among the mechanics there is a society called 'The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, &c.' numbering about 12,000 members. This society naturally exercises great influence in the trade, though the number of its members is but a fraction of the whole body of mechanics in England and Scotland. With the proceedings of this society, some of them, perhaps, not wise, (and if none were unwise, the society would be more than human,) the whole inquiry before us will be more or less concerned."

The dispute was entirely between the "turn-out masters" and their mechanics; the labourers, although turned out, have nothing to do with it. And it began thus:—

"For the last two years the men in the employ of Messrs. Hibbert, Platt, and Sons, of Oldham, appear to have passed through a succession of contests, arrangements, and re-arrangements with their masters, in the course of which they are said to have received advice and assistance from the Amalgamated Society. There were three grounds of dispute—1. The machines; 2. Piece-work, as practised; 3. Systematic overtime. A portion of the work formerly done by mechanics is now done by machines, and to work the machines, labourers, or unskilled mechanics, are employed. The men insisted that 'mechanics,' and not 'labourers,' should be employed to work these machines."

Mr. Fielden explains the extortion and cruelty of "piecework, as practised," and of systematic overtime. In the spring of last year, Mr. John Platt, the active partner in the firm, signed an agreement, promising that on condition of the mechanics going on working (with some concessions) in the manner to which they had objected, until the Christmas of 1851, that then a new system should be commenced, conceding, at least, some further part of their demands.

"Did Mr. Platt intend to fulfil that promise? If I look only to the papers bearing his own signature, and to his avowed conduct, I find it difficult to determine that he did. The accusation against him is, that it was made only to

get important work on hand finished, and to obtain the time necessary to form that combination of masters who, on the 10th day of January, passed an indiscriminate sentence of starvation on 60,000 people, because a portion of them would not cease to ask for mercy and justice."

On the 9th of December, the confederate masters commenced their operations; and all that they at first declared was that if any "turn-out" took place at Hibbert and Platt's, or any other of the confederate masters' shops, that they would all close their establishments. But in proportion as the prospect of a "turn-out" by the men diminished, so the determination of the masters to have a turn-out increased.

"The comparative moderation of the masters at this time, however, may be ascribed to a feeling of internal weakness; for, by the second resolution, it is provided that each confederate shall deposit in a bank a sum, at the rate of 10s. a-head on the number of his workmen, as a guarantee for the good faith of each member. But on the 17th of December, the confederates go a little further—they drop the name of Hibbert, Platt, and Sons, and accuse the Amalgamated Society of making demands, which they do not state, on firms which they do not name, and accuse them of giving a notice to one firm, also not named. Still, however, the men are to turn out first, and upon the specific ground of non-compliance with the unknown demands."

On the 24th of December, the Amalgamated Society published their circular, (or "Manifesto") recommending that piecework and systematic overtime should be discontinued—the machines being not mentioned at all. On the same day, a meeting of the confederate masters was held in London, when a communication from the Manchester confederates was read, stating that the Amalgamated Society had made demands on firms in that district, including the unconditional discharge of all unskilled labourers employed on machines. At the same meeting, the circular (or "Manifesto") of the Amalgamated Society, which made no mention of the machine question, and referring solely to overtime and piecework, was taken into consideration. And it was resolved at this meeting that, "in the event of the hands of any establishment going out on strike, or otherwise enforcing the demands of the Amalgamated Society," that they would all close their establishments on the 10th of January, 1852.

On the 3rd of January the Central Association of Employers advertised in the newspapers that their establishments would be closed on the 10th of January. On this step Mr. Fielden gives the following opinion:—

"Pending the dispute with Mr. Platt, and for a long time before, the trade generally had complained of the oppression they suffered by the systematic overtime and piecework, as practised, and the means of removing the evil was a subject of constant deliberation among them. The question of the machines was also considered; but the great body of mechanics were, as they had always been, opposed to any interference on this subject. As the result of these deliberations, the Amalgamated Society, on the 24th of December, put forth the circular (or "Manifesto") before mentioned, containing the propositions of the mechanics on these subjects of dispute, and they were simply that piecework and systematic overtime should be abolished. There was no threat or suggestion of a strike by the men to obtain these objects; it was merely a resolution that they would propose that to their masters, to which they thought justice and humanity entitled them. The masters answered them; and how? By denying the facts? By denying the injustice? By reasoning the matter? None of these. They answered by a determination, as the foregoing resolutions show, to the effect that unless the proposition were unconditionally withdrawn they would dismiss from their shops the whole of their hands—not those who made the proposition only, but all the hands in their employ. On the 10th of January the mechanics, not having brought themselves down to this insulting test of hopeless submission, the masters carried their determination into effect—the most signal instance of ruthless vengeance that has yet characterized the wars of capital against humanity."

It was quite clear that the question of the machines formed no part of the dispute: the Amalgamated Society officially published its demands, and the machines were not mentioned. As to the question of piecework, "the men," says Mr. Fielden, "I know, have expressed their willingness to continue to work by the piece, provided the oppressive practices described do not exist in future. The men's proposition as to overtime is only that the systematic part of it shall be abolished; and this they do not give up, and I hope they never will." He then gives the whole list of conditions on which the masters have agreed to take the men back, and the declaration required to be signed by each workman; "I give the whole list, for I feel that no description can do justice to its audacity."

"The position of the parties, then, is, that the men have yielded to a great extent, while the masters have not only not yielded anything, but have tendered a string of conditions most insulting and humiliating to the men."

"The question is now narrowed to this—ought the men to yield to the masters on the question of systematic overtime, and submit to the foregoing conditions, or ought they to yield on either point? I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion that they ought not to yield on either point, and that the masters ought to yield on both. On the question of the systematic overtime it is useless to say

a word more, and it is obvious that the conditions proposed by the masters have no reference to anything that can properly be called their interest in the trade. The object of the conditions manifestly is to humble and degrade the men in the eyes of the world, and (which is more important) in their own estimation. If the masters will withdraw these conditions, every man will be glad to ascribe them to the dictates of anger, and to view their withdrawal as the result of calm reflection and good feeling; but if they obstinately persevere when they have had ample time for reflection, every one must come to the conclusion that their motives are of a description not very creditable to them."

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY.

Weekly Report, Feb. 24 to March 1.

The Agency transacted business with the following stores:—Galashiels, Leeds, Bocking, Stockport, Banbury, Bamp, Bury, Brighton, Guildford, Portsea, Ullesthorpe, Woolwich, Bradford, and Halifax. The Agency reminds the public that the samples of cobourgs, merinos, alpacas, and ribbons are still on view at their offices, and may be sold in small lengths to private customers desirous of consuming the produce of Working Men's Associations. Samples have already been sent in town on demand. By the statement in the last number of the *Journal of Association* it is seen that adulteration has found its way into the manufacture of cloths by the introduction of shoddy (old wool re-spun), instead of the genuine material. The produce of Working Men's Associations are to be free from all sophistication of this sort, and the Agency intend paying great care in this respect to the goods consigned to them. After the organization of Co-operative Stores and of Co-operative Associations, the next step to be taken is to establish the best mode of dealing between them, either for the goods of their own produce, or for the goods they can supply more advantageously than the competitive trade. This is to be the beginning of co-operative trade and commerce. Two modes of dealing are now in use or in contemplation among co-operators. Some prefer going direct from one association to another, the shoemakers asking hats from the hatters, the tailors asking cloth direct from the cloth makers. Some others prefer acting through the Agency, whose functions are to enter into and keep connexion with all for the profit of each individual body, through the means of the same correspondence, book-keeping, &c. It is good after all that the experiment should be tried on both sides, whilst it remains the duty of the Central Co-operative Agency to maintain its principle of commercial action through common commercial centres, whereby a great saving of time, money, labour, and exertion is obtained, together with better results from having all things done regularly and professionally. Mutual exchanges, and especially mutual credit, are utterly impossible without a co-ordination of mutual resources and mutual efforts through a common factor. Each individual or each body becoming his own factor for all things is falling back to the lowest degree of the scale of civilization, by suppressing at once the incalculable benefits of division of labour, whereas co-operative industry in its progressive paths over competitive and conflictive industry, implies a both sided development of more minutely divided functions, and more closely united workmen and workshops.

IRELAND.

THE members of the Irish bar mustered strong in the Court of Chancery on Saturday last for the purpose of bidding farewell to the out-going Chancellor, the Right Honorable Maziere Brady, and expressing their deep sense of his zeal, kindness, and impartiality. The Lord Chancellor replied in suitable terms, and was deeply affected. On the same day a deputation from the Royal Dublin Society presented Lord Clarendon with an address on his retirement from the Viceroyalty.

It is stated that the new administration, on the urgent demand of Lord Naas and other persons of influence connected with the ultra-Tory party in Ireland, have consented to the restoration of the Earl of Roden to the commission of the peace for the county of Down, from which he had been removed by Lord Clarendon, in consequence of the transactions connected with Dolly's Bree.

WAR WITH BURMAH.

THE electric telegraph from Trieste, where the steamer from Alexandria arrived on Saturday last, brought the news to London of the commencement of a Burmese war. The misunderstanding, which has at last reached this climax, arose thus:—In the month of November, Captain Lewis, the commander of a British merchantman, was subjected by the Burmese governor of the port of Rangoon to unprecedented exactions, and at last to barbarous ill-usage, in contemptuous violation of the treaty of Yandaboo, by which the King of Ava undertook "to abolish all exactions on British ships or vessels in Burman ports, that are not required from Burman vessels in British ports." Another equally flagrant case was that of Captain Sheppard, commanding another ship, who was subjected to similar indignities. Complaints having been made to the Supreme Government at Calcutta by these gentlemen, and by more than a hundred British residents at Rangoon, the *For* frigate, and the Company's steamer *Tenasserim*, which were soon joined by two or three other steamers, were sent under command of Commodore Lambert, with Captain Latter of the Bengal Army as interpreter, to demand an apology, and a sum of 1000.

as reparation for the insult and injury to the merchant captains and to British honour. The Governor of Rangoon temporized, sent visits and letters of ceremony to the Commodore, while he was collecting troops and mounting guns. On the 4th of January, a new Governor arrived at Rangoon from Ummerapoora, the capital of the empire, with the powers of Viceroy. He began by refusing to receive any more deputations from the English Commodore, and began to erect stockades and batteries. Commodore Lambert immediately proclaimed a blockade of the mouths of the Irrawaddy. On the 9th of January, the Viceroy wrote to the Commodore, that if he did not at once open the passage of the river, he would order the batteries to open their fire. The frigate *For* and the steamer *Hermes* were attacked by the batteries soon after, while passing. They replied to the fire, destroyed the fortifications, and killed three hundred of the enemy. We must wait for the arrival of the mail for more detailed particulars.

THE CHURCH IN THE COLONIES.

THE following is the bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone, entitled, "A Bill to relieve Bishops in the Colonies in communion with the Church of England, and the clergy and laity in communion with them, in respect to legal doubts or disabilities affecting the management of their Church affairs:—"

PREAMBLE.

Whereas doubts exist as to the right of the bishops, clergy, and lay persons, inhabiting the colonial possessions of her Majesty, and being in communion with the Church of England, in regard to the management of their internal ecclesiastical affairs, and whereas it is expedient that, under certain restrictions, they should be permitted to make regulations for the said management by agreement among themselves:

Be it declared and enacted, by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same—

1. *Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, may meet for the Management of their Ecclesiastical Affairs.*—It shall be lawful for the bishop or bishops of any diocese or dioceses in the Colonies enumerated in the schedule A, to this act annexed, or in any other colony which her Majesty shall, as hereinafter provided by order in Council, have declared to fall within the operation of this act, together with the clergy and lay persons, being declared members of the said Church, or being otherwise in communion with such bishop or bishops respectively, to meet together from time to time, and at such meeting by mutual consent, or by a majority of voices of the said clergy and laity, severally and respectively, with the assent of the said bishop, or of a majority of the said bishops if more than one, to make all such regulations as may be held necessary for the better conduct of their ecclesiastical affairs, and for the holding of meetings for the said purpose thereafter, any statute, law, or usage of the United Kingdom to the contrary notwithstanding.

2. *But may not impose Temporal Penalties.*—But it shall not be lawful to impose, by any such regulation, any temporal or pecuniary penalty or disability other than such as may attach to the avoidance of any ecclesiastical office or benefice.

3. *What Persons bound by their Regulations.*—And no such regulations shall be binding on any person or persons other than the said bishop or bishops, and the clergy, with the lay persons within the said colonies, and being declared members of the Church of England, or being otherwise in communion with him or them respectively.

4. *What Force and Effect Belongs to their Regulations.*—And no such regulation shall, in virtue of this act, be held to have any other legal force or effect than the regulations, laws, or usages of other Churches or religious communities in the said Colonies.

5. *Of Regulations respecting Nomination of Bishops.*—And no such regulation made in respect of the nomination of bishops shall have any force or effect whatsoever, except upon the consent of her Majesty, signified through one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

6. *Of Regulations touching the Rights of the See of Canterbury.*—And any such regulation touching the existing relation of the said bishops, clergy, and others, to the metropolitan see of Canterbury, shall be forthwith transmitted by the presiding bishop or his deputy to the archbishop of the said see, and shall be subject to disallowance by the said archbishop, under his hand and seal, at any time within twelve months of the passing of the said regulation, or within six months from the receipt thereof, by the said archbishop, but not afterwards.

7. *Prohibition to make certain Regulations.*—And no such regulation shall authorise the bishop of any diocese to confirm or consecrate, or to ordain or to license or institute, any person to any see, or to any pastoral charge, or other episcopal or clerical office, except upon such persons having immediately before taken the oath of allegiance to her Majesty, and having likewise subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and having, furthermore, declared his unfeigned assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer.

8. *Her Majesty may extend the Operation of this Act.*—And it shall be lawful for her Majesty, if and when she shall think fit, to declare by order in Council, that this act shall, from a day to be named in such order, be in force within any other one or more of her Majesty's colonial possessions, besides those contained in the schedule A to this act annexed; and this act shall take effect in the colony or colonies so designated accordingly.

SCHEDULE A., to which this act refers:—Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Van Diemen's Land, Western Australia.

NATIONAL DEFENCES.

A sum of 12,000*l.* is set down in the army estimates this year for a camp of exercise: last year, only 1000*l.* were voted for this purpose. It is supposed that a large body of troops of all arms will be brigaded, and that Salisbury Plain will be the place of rendezvous.

The Coast Guard, a picked body of efficient and experienced seamen, are, up to this very day, armed with old-fashioned flint-lock muskets.

Parties of officers and sergeants from the Guards, the Rifle Brigade, and many of the line regiments, have been sent to Woolwich for the purpose of practising with, and learning the management of, the Minié rifles. They are under the command of Major Brownrigg, of the Grenadier Guards.

From the army estimates for the current year, it appears that, for the recruiting service, to the 31st of March, 1853, the charge to be provided is 19,354*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* of which 3101*l.* 16*s.* is for the service in London.

The Dockyard men at Pembroke are now actively engaged in finishing the Windsor Castle. She is to be fitted with a screw propeller, will carry 140 guns, and will be by far the largest vessel in the British navy. Her twin vessel with regard to the screw propeller will be the Royal Albert, 120 guns, now building at Woolwich. The Windsor Castle will be fitted with the engines originally destined for the Simoom steam-frigate. They are of 780 horsepower, by Mr. Robert Napier, of Glasgow. With engines of this power, the Windsor Castle will be the most formidable floating battery on the waters.

On Wednesday, a meeting of inhabitants of Southwark was held at the Bridge House Hotel, Wellington-street, London Bridge, to adopt measures in opposition to the enrolment of the militia. Apsley Pellatt, Esq., took the chair. It was urged that the fear of invasion was idle; and that, in any case, government had ample means of defending the country already in its hands. A petition to Parliament, embodying these views, was adopted.

A trial has been recently made at Woolwich, under the direction of Colonel Chalmers, Royal Artillery, with a small belt revolving pistol of Colt's manufacture, when it was found that even by men unaccustomed to the use of this arm, great precision could be attained even at a distance of fifty yards; out of forty-eight shots, all of which hit the target, twenty-five took effect within a space of one foot square, and thirteen hit the bull's-eye, six inches in diameter. This pistol can be fired fifteen hundred times with one cleaning, and the ball will penetrate through six inches of deal board. A report to the American Secretary of War from a Board of Ordnance officers, ordered to report on various repeating rifles, and improved carbines, declares, that a weapon named Sharpe's rifle, loading at the breech, is the best that has been submitted to their inspection, and decidedly superior to the Prussian needle gun.

STARVATION AND LAUDANUM.

MARCHANT, a police constable, brought a poor, sickly, careworn man, very thinly clad, before Mr. Yardley, at the Thames Police-office, on Wednesday, and stated that on Tuesday afternoon he was called by the wife of the prisoner, whose name was John Lander, and that she told him that her husband had purchased two separate pennyworths of laudanum at two doctors' shops, and had swallowed the poison. He therefore went with her to her husband's lodging, at No. 9, Gower's-walk, Whitechapel, where he found Lander lying on a miserable bed, in a close, small, damp room, quite insensible. He was unable to rouse him from his stupor, although fortunately he seemed to have dislodged some of the narcotic by vomiting. He took him in a cab to the London Hospital, and the stomach-pump having been applied, and restoratives administered, he was enabled to bring the prisoner that afternoon to answer the charge of attempting self-destruction. The constable added that the prisoner, who was still in a very weak condition, had admitted he took the poison, but said distress drove him to do it, and that he would do it again. The poor fellow was certainly in very great distress; and besides his wife, he discovered seven half-naked young children in his room, without shoes or stockings on, and craving for food, which their parents were unable to provide for them.

Lander said he had endured privations till life was a burden to him. His children were crying for bread on Tuesday, and that drove him to madness. He had taken his coat off six weeks ago to buy coals and bread, and had worn nothing since on his back, except the remains of an old garment which he had picked up. He was quite distracted when he took the poison. It was done in the impulse of the moment.

Mr. Yardley said the prisoner should have five shillings from the poor-box, but he gave him very doubtingly, fearing it might induce others to attempt self-destruction to excite sympathy. It would, however, hold out a hope to the wife.

Lander was then discharged, and left the Police-court with his wife.

A WATER REVOLUTION.

MANY hundreds of the hands employed at the Great Western Cotton Works at Bristol have struck work, through a dispute between them and the manager. On Monday the magistrates were engaged all day in investigating charges arising out of the dispute; and while they were sitting, the streets near the council house were crowded with factory people and others taking an interest in the case. Mr. John A. H. Worth, the manager, was summoned by a young woman, named Emma Williams, and by several other girls and married women, for having, on Thursday last, come into the yard—where the workpeople

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Mr. Spencer Suthers, a cotton-spinner and manufacturer, residing at Oldham, went to a coal mine near the town, belonging to Messrs. Evans, Barker, and Co., at about eleven o'clock on Saturday morning last, and deliberately threw himself into the mine, which is a hundred and forty-five yards deep. There were four men at the bottom of

the pit at the time; they went to the unfortunate man's body, but he was quite dead. Mr. Suthers was about sixty years old, and was in prosperous circumstances, but suffered severely from rheumatism, and is supposed to have destroyed himself in a fit of insanity, produced by a paroxysm of pain. He leaves a widow, a son, and two daughters.

On Saturday the accounts relating to the Court of Chancery were printed by order of the Court of Chancery. The suitors' fund account shows in cash 126,120*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.*, and in stock 3,832,117*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* In the year, stock was purchased with suitors' cash to 205,840*l.* 16*s.*

According to a return respecting the Excise, just printed by order of the House of Commons, in the year ending the 5th January last, the total revenue of the Excise, including balances, was 15,065,924*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* Three pensions were paid, amounting to 9,877*l.* 8*s.* to the Duke of Grafton, Earl Cowper, and a moiety of the Earl of Bath's pension. The charges of collection were 849,475*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* The revenue police cost in the year 51,658*l.* 11*s.* 2*d.*

An important circular order has just been issued by the Admiralty, "to all commanders-in-chief, captains, and commanding officers of Her Majesty's ships," defining more particularly the circumstances under which claims may be made by ships of war for salvage, on account of assistance rendered to merchant vessels in distress. Every possible aid, "as heretofore," is to be afforded to vessels in danger or want of casual help, and no claim for salvage is to be raised unless really important services, or services accompanied with hazard, have been rendered to such vessels.

It appears from the accounts respecting the Metropolitan Police Force, (printed on Saturday), that on Jan. 1 last, the number of persons belonging to the force was 5,549; consisting of one inspecting superintendent, at 600*l.* a year; 18 superintendents, from 350*l.* to 200*l.* a year; 124 inspectors, with salaries from 200*l.* to 81*l.* 18*s.* a year. There were 587 sergeants, from 109*l.* 4*s.* to 63*l.* 14*s.* a year; and 4,819 constables, comprising 1,250 in the first class, at 54*l.* 12*s.* a year; 2,349 in the second class, at 49*l.* 8*s.* a year; and 1,171 in the third class, at 44*l.* 4*s.* a year. The sum paid for the police last year amounted to 422,290*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*, leaving a balance of 49,957*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.*, which were the receipts in the year. The fees, &c., from police courts were 10,548*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* The Commissioners of the Great Exhibition paid the force 17,426*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*

According to a Parliamentary paper yesterday printed, obtained by Sir John Pakington, there were 6,489 juvenile offenders committed in England in 1849, and 73 in Wales; while in 1850 the number in England committed was 6,998, and in Wales 82. Of the number in England and Wales in 1849, 167 were sentenced to transportation, and 184 in 1850. The others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. On the 1st of November last, of juvenile offenders undergoing sentence, there were in England and Wales 169 under 13 years of age, and 568 under 16. The number in prison before, once, was 205; twice, 90; three times, 49; and four times and upwards, 85. Of the juveniles then undergoing sentence, 29 were illegitimate. It appears, that of the offenders then in prison in pursuance of sentence, 329 had lost one parent, and 103 had lost both parents; 327 were unable to read, and 554 had not been brought up to any definite occupation, of whom 547 were in England and 7 in Wales.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

Last week the total number of deaths registered in the metropolitan districts was 1,069, which is nearly the same as in the previous week. In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1842-51, the average number was 1042, which, with a certain proportion added for increase of population, becomes 1,146. Hence it appears that last week's return is less than the corrected average by 77.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 15th ult., at Halifax, the Lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Savage, Commanding Royal Engineers, Nova Scotia: a daughter.
On the 26th ult., at the American Consulate, Southampton, the wife of Joseph Rodney Croskey, Esq., United States Consul: a son.
On the 26th ult., at Dallington Vicarage, Sussex, the wife of the Rev. Ralph Raisbeck Tatham: a daughter.
On the 27th ult., at No. 4, Grange-villas, Dalston, Mrs. Eric Windus: a daughter.
On the 28th ult., at Heath, near Wakefield, the wife of Dacre Dunn, Esq.: a daughter, still-born.
On the 1st inst., at Lixmount, Edinburgh, the lady of Sir Graham Montgomery, Bart., of Stanhope: a son.
On the 1st inst., at 20, Upper Bedford-place, Russell-square, Mrs. David Do Pass: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 24th ult., at Budleigh, Devonshire, Edward Joseph Thackwell, Esq., 3rd Light Dragoons, eldest son of Major-General Sir Joseph Thackwell, G.C.B., Colonel of the 16th Lancers, &c., to Charlotte Price, eldest daughter of the late Captain John Lucas.
On the 2nd inst., at the Catholic Chapel, King-street, Portman-square, and afterwards at St. John's, Paddington, Victor Cauchie des Jardins de Lapletiere, grandson of Le Chevalier des Jardins S. Fernier, Général des Messageries Royal de France et Capitaine à la Maison du Roi sous Louis XVI., to Mrs. F. M. Phillips, of Albion street, Hyde-park, and North-villes, Worthing.

DEATHS.

On the 25th ult., at Gellydwyll, Carmarthenshire, the Rev. Augustus Brigstocke, aged 59.
On the 26th ult., at the Down-house, Dorsetshire, in the 82nd year of his age, Sir John Wilbore Smith, Bart., of the Down-house, and Sydling St. Nicholas, in that county.
On the 28th ult., at Kentish-town, in her 33rd year, Sarah, the wife of Mr. John F. Spurrier, and eldest daughter of Mr. George Frickett, of Highgate.
On the 28th ult., at Southwell, Notts, Marmaduke, the second son of Robert Kelham Kelham, of Bleasby-hall, Esq., in the said county, aged 37.
On Sunday, the 29th ult., at her house, in Harley-street, Dorcas, widow of the late Sir Josias Champagne, G.C.H.

TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

No notice can be taken of anonymous communications. What-ever is intended for insertion must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer; not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of his good faith.

We cannot undertake to return rejected communications. All letters for the Editor should be addressed to 10, Wellington-street, Strand, London.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

[The following appeared in our Second Edition of last week.]

Postscript.

SATURDAY, February 28.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

LORD DERBY made his statement last night to a full House. Lord Redesdale was on the woolsack, as Sir Edward Sugden is not yet a peer. Lord Aberdeen sat on the Opposition side of the House. On the Treasury benches, Lord Malmesbury and Lord Eglinton supported the Premier.

Lord Derby prefaced his speech by paying handsome compliments to Lord Lansdowne; and that graceful duty being accomplished, he at once entered on the main business.

He told the House that the resignation of the late ministers had completely taken him by surprise; but that he had not hesitated a moment when commanded by her Majesty to accept the task imposed upon him, beset as it was with overwhelming difficulties, and conferring as it did an awful amount of responsibility. He saw that no new administration could readily be formed; he felt that it was not for the public interests that the late ministers should resume their old posts; he knew that his party were in an undoubted minority in the House of Commons; but he could not consistently with his duty leave the Queen and the country without an administration. In four days he had arranged his ministry, submitted an outline to her Majesty, and received her approval. And he now felt it necessary to state to their lordships, "frankly, freely, and without reserve," the course of policy which he deemed it his "imperative duty" to follow. Commencing with our "foreign relations," he thought our undeviating aim should be the maintenance of peace. We should not make displays of "large military and naval operations," nor adopt "utopian theories of universal disarmament." Peace would be best maintained by pursuing, alike with the strong and the weak, a "calm, temperate, deliberate, and conciliatory course of conduct," fulfilling treaties, respecting independence of all nations, and admitting their full right to regulate their internal affairs. He would like to see our example followed; we had "no right, as a nation, to entertain particular prejudices and particular sympathies for this or that course or form of government;" but we should recognise all forms, even that of an "absolute Red Republic." He thought it "highly probable" that peace would be preserved, but not for that reason ought we to neglect precautionary defensive measures; and although he had no doubt of the courage and loyalty of the people, who would "rush to the rescue" in case of invasion, yet he thought that "if they were not disciplined and organized," they would meet foreign aggression at a fearful disadvantage. As to the militia, this sentence embodies his views:—

"The more confidence I feel that the peace of Europe will not be disturbed, the more I feel the imperative necessity of taking now, in this time of peace, when we are not pressed by apprehensions, the necessary measures for the organization of such a force, with a view to our object being accomplished with due deliberation, and yet with that necessary promptitude which will enable our population to meet their adversaries, if danger should occur, in some sort of military array and discipline.

He adopts the meek policy chalked out by Lord Granville respecting the refugees—not *espionage*, but keep guard over their conduct, and instantly communicate all discovered conspiracies to the government conspired against—he thought that was all they could be called upon to do.

Lord Derby criticised next our financial and commercial system. He opposed the latest developments of the policy of Sir Robert Peel; and stated in the vaguest manner the theory of protection. He praised the tariff of the United States, which imposes high duties on various imported products competing with home-grown or home-made products. He expressed in these words the enormous and often refuted fallacy—that "when you impose the duty on an article of which a portion is supplied at home, and of which another portion is produced abroad, there the measure of the increase of the duty is not a measure of the increase of the price; for the increase of price is only to the amount of the foreign produce which may be excluded by the imposition of any duty—for as that diminishes the supply, to that extent it also enhances the price." And coming at once to the point he said:—"At the same time I do not shrink from expressing again that which I have expressed often on former occasions, nor from repeating in office what I have often stated out of office—that in my individual opinion I can see no grounds why, from the general system of imposing duties on foreign imports, the single article of corn should be a solitary exception. (Hear.) I state this, my lords, as my opinion; but I think this to be a question which can only be satisfactorily solved by reference to the well-understood and clearly-expressed opinion of the intelligent portion of the community." (Hear, hear.)

He could not deal with that question, however, without

having a Government strong in the confidence of Parliament and the country. Consequently as he was in a decided minority in the Commons, he must trust to the indulgence of friends, and the forbearance of foes. He thought that there was enough useful work cut out in the way of legal reform and "social reform." In the latter, he did not include the Parliamentary Reform measure of Lord John Russell, which he rejected; insinuating, that it was a measure which would cause "incalculable danger not only to the Monarchy, but to the true liberty of England." He distinctly laid it down, that education not based on "the Scripture and evangelical truth," would have his opposition. He should uphold the church and maintain it in its integrity, "not by penal enactments directed against those who may differ from her enactments—not by virulent invective or by abusive language against the religious faith of those whose errors we may deplore, but to whose conscience we have no right to dictate—(hear)—but by steadfastly resisting all attempts at aggression upon the rights, the privileges, the possessions of that church, come from what quarter and backed by what weight of authority they may—(hear, hear)—and by lending every power of the Government to support and extend the influence of that church, in its high and holy calling of diffusing throughout the length and breadth of the united empire—for I speak not of this country alone—that knowledge which is only derived from the diffusion of the holy Scriptures. (Loud cries of 'Hear, hear,')"

Lord Derby sat down amidst very general cheering; and Lord GREY instantly rose, intent on picking a quarrel. He exposed the fallacy respecting the influence of duty on price; and he said it was with consternation that he had heard the House told that a measure was to be proposed for again re-imposing protective duties. "No, no," from the ministerial benches, was followed by disclaimer from Lord Derby himself, who said that he had no intention of making any proposition until a decided and emphatic expression of public opinion had been obtained. Not satisfied, Lord Grey went on provoking the Premier by arguing upon the disclaimed premises; and Lord Derby hastily rose again, and interposed; but Lord Grey was not to be stopped, and he demanded, on behalf of the great interests involved, the most distinct statement of the policy the government proposed to pursue. The House was subsequently addressed by Earl FITZWILLIAM, Lord CLARKE, and the Earl of ABERDEEN (who adhered to Lord Derby's policy in general, but split from him decisively on protection), and Lord BRIDGEMAN, who was anxious for legal reform.

The main proceedings of interest in the House of Commons was the moving for new writs in the room of the ministers; an unsuccessful attempt by the Tories to obtain a new writ for Harwich, the second reading of the London Necropolis and National Mausoleum Bill, and a notice from Mr. Charles Villiers, that on an early day after the new Ministers had taken their seats in that house he should propose a resolution declaratory of the intention of the House to maintain the policy of free trade, and to resist any attempt to reimpose duties on foreign corn. (Hear, hear.)

The House adjourned until the 12th of March.

The new Cabinet were, yesterday, sworn members of the Privy Council.

Twenty officers and forty sergeants of the Foot Guards and Line Regiments will arrive at Woolwich on Monday next, and on the following day commence practice, with five or six different modifications of the minié rifle, which has been suggested as necessary previous to its general introduction in the service.

Thomas Moore died on Thursday, at Sloperton Cottage. He was born on the 28th of May, 1780, the date of Be-ranger's birth. A brilliant and successful life was closed by a lingering and melancholy death; and pity for his old age of suffering mingles with that gay affection inseparable from the memory of his youth and manhood.

Mr. Eaton, the master of St. Pancras workhouse, was ejected yesterday, charged with having "secretly" carried out the orders of the Poor Law Commissioners in the workhouse.

At Dundalk assizes on Thursday, the grand jury found true bills against three persons, named Patrick McCool, James Kirk, and Thomas Belton, for beating and wounding Mr. Eastwood, in December last, with intent to murder him.

The investigation into the cause of the bursting of the Bilberry reservoir concluded yesterday with the following verdict:—"We find that Eliza Marsden came to her death by drowning, caused by the bursting of the Bilberry reservoir. We also find that the Bilberry reservoir was defective in its original construction, and that the commissioners, engineers, and overlookers, were greatly culpable, and in not seeing to the proper regulation of the works; and we also find that the commissioners, in permitting the Bilberry reservoir to remain for several years in a dangerous state, with a full knowledge thereof, and not lowering the waste pit, have been guilty of gross and culpable negligence; and we regret that the reservoir being under the management of a corporation prevents us bringing in a verdict of manslaughter, as we are convinced the gross and culpable negligence of the commissioners would have subjected them to such a verdict had they been in the position of private individuals or a firm. We also hope that the Legislature will take into its most serious consideration the propriety of making provision for the protection of the lives and property of her Majesty's subjects, exposed to danger from reservoirs placed by corporations in situations similar to those under the charge of the Holme reservoir commissioners."

The Leader.

SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1852.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—Dr. ARNOLD.

LORD DERBY'S TENURE OF OFFICE.

By what right does Lord Derby act as Prime Minister of the Crown? The question is more important to the Conservative section of the political world than to any other; for anything more calculated to shake and discredit that shattered article, "the Constitution," we do not remember, than his unwarranted occupation of office. By what right is he there? We might recommend the question to the consideration of Mr. Disraeli, the philosophic statesman of the party.

We know that Lord Derby is in office by the appointment of the Crown; but it must be remembered, that by the theory of our "glorious," &c., it is not the Crown, but the Minister who is responsible for the acceptance of office. The Crown acts without responsibility, but the Minister who accepts is bound to show that he has a warrant for doing so. Now what is his warrant? It is not that majority in the Representative House which is the most usual and direct warrant for the acceptance of such a post; for Lord Derby himself admits that he has not a majority in the House of Commons, perhaps not in either House.

The next kind of warrant is, that a statesman impersonates a principle which he believes to coincide with the opinion held by the electoral majority of the country; and in the principle of Protection, Lord Derby might find such a warrant. Not that he believes it to be held by the electoral majority of the country, still less by the majority of the country itself; but the limited franchise prevents that distinct and absolute declaration of the national sentiment which would alone place such a question beyond all further discussion; and there is no doubt that some present movements among the working classes may be mistaken for a recurrence to the principle of Protection. It is possible, therefore, that Lord Derby may find his warrant in that principle, and that, although he has not a present majority in the House of Commons, he may expect to make one by a general election.

But if that be so, he is bound to make good his pretension without delay. Any prolonged interval between the acceptance of office and the fulfilment of such a duty is a violation of our constitution aforesaid—it is a violation theoretically erroneous and practically hazardous. The theory is, that the Sovereign is not responsible, but that the responsibility rests on the Minister; and the usage is, that a statesman enters office to enforce that policy alone for which he can conscientiously be responsible. So long as that rule is observed, our system works with comparative smoothness—the Sovereign being unable to find any man to act as Minister, except such as possesses, constructively, at least, the concurrence of the Commons.

As soon as a statesman consents to enter office as the instrument of a policy other than his own, he disturbs that constitutional practice, and brings it into contempt. He familiarizes the public with the idea of Ministerial irresponsibility; but an irresponsible Ministry could not exist long without suggesting the inevitable idea of Royal responsibility; and, passing over a statesman who consented to be the mere clerk of a department, the country might once more think to make the Sovereign personally answerable. This is not a mere theoretical point. While the Sovereign is restricted by the necessity of finding a man who will undertake a responsible agency, on his own terms, the country has a check upon the royal power; but if once you admitted that the Sovereign can employ any agent, without specific responsibility on the part of that agent,

you would destroy the check, and would leave the country no other course but to deal directly with the Sovereign.

Lord Derby says that he felt it his duty no longer to flinch from the responsibility of accepting office; but he can only assume that duty honestly and really by taking it on the strength of putting his main principle immediately to the test. The very words, however, which accompany his declaration of duty, are an evasion of responsibility: he confesses that he has no majority in the Commons, and perhaps not in the Lords, and he throws himself on the indulgence of Parliament; in other words, he begs Parliament to waive his responsibility. But *somebody* must be answerable; and if not Lord Derby, who is it?

He has mistaken his duty. If he felt that an opportunity had come for the advancement of his policy, and that he could accept office on that ground, then by all the reasons of patriotism, he was bound to accept; but he was *not* bound to accept without being qualified to undertake a conscientious responsibility. Quite the contrary. We know well what he means, and give him every credit for good intent in lending himself to a device by which "her Majesty's government may be carried on;" but statesmen can never safely depart from what may be called a *de facto* course. If the facts preclude him from acting on his convictions, he is precluded from accepting office. If the condition of his taking place is the postponement of his own opinion, he is *ipso facto* disqualified. In such case, he cannot call himself unwilling, but incompetent. His acceptance does more harm than good.

If it were so to happen that all men were disqualified, and that the Crown could not find a Minister, that anomalous condition of affairs would suggest its own remedy. We believe, however, that there are statesmen who do not labour under Lord Derby's disqualification. We have been guilty of no adulation of the Manchester school, and we should sincerely grieve to see this country handed over to a supremacy of trade; but we are bound to express our belief that Mr. Cobden labours under no such disqualification as Lord Derby does. We are still more confident that the statesman whose victory rendered office vacant for Lord Derby, could prove his practical and technical qualification for office. Lord Derby, then, stands in the way of others who have a better right than he has, and there was no necessity for his acceptance. Its intention was patriotic, its effect can only be mischievous. He has enabled her Majesty's government to be carried on, but he has incurred a risk of raising the question as to the position of the Crown itself. He has supplied another illustration of the great fact, that in our day ministerial responsibility is becoming a farce.

IMPRATICABILITY OF THE OLD "PROTECTION."

At the present moment it is of the utmost importance that those who have the welfare of the industrial classes at heart should note the curious relation between the doctrines of Protection, Free Trade, and Association. It is important to bear in mind, and to show to others whom we desire for allies, that Association would fulfil, what *both* the other economic doctrines profess, although they are both in their nature impracticable, and are collectively incompatible.

Protection is the doctrine which the present Ministers will try to reintroduce. It professes to secure the welfare of the labourer by excluding foreign rivals; which it can scarcely do, since it cannot conquer the smuggler, except in the import of articles most needful for life: those, being bulky, it *can* exclude, to the extreme detriment of the poor. The trial of free trade has made even the agricultural labourer know what he lost by a prohibitory or restrictive duty; and the taste of cheap bread will prevent his ever rejoicing the exclusionists. In fact, they protect the pocket against the mouth. Protection proceeds by putting a negative on production; that is its sole pretension to the regulation of industry.

Free trade has made the most of that weak point, and has accomplished freedom of production abroad and at home, priding itself on a total abstinence from the regulation of industry. But a yet shorter trial of free trade has destroyed that boundless confidence in it which numbers had: we will not have Protection any more, because it prohibits production; but mere liberty of exchange is not sufficient for the guidance of

those occupations that ought to supply us with necessities. The evils which men endure under the absence of regulation, though they may be mistaken in ascribing it to free trade, are not to be denied or ignored. Landlords are suffering in deteriorated property—that cannot be denied. Labourers are in a condition hopeless of improvement, except through expatriation: they have more bread, but there their improvement stops, and it will go no further. Shipowners are suffering large losses. One man sends his ships out under a Government contract to deliver timber, and finds that his anticipated return freights have gone by some other route; another discovers a deficit of 80,000*l.* in his trade. These facts may be glibly denied, or "explained away" by theoretical writers, but they cut deep into the minds of those who suffer.

Meanwhile, the working classes are far in advance of the educated classes with regard to these questions, though there are men among the middle class also practically alive to some want which is grinding them all to the same principle. The men of the iron trades find that it is destruction to go on without a better understanding between themselves and their employers; that unless they have a voice in the regulation of their own industry, they shall enter into that process of gradual, but continual sinking, which is yearly bringing larger numbers of working men to the level of starvation. Other classes discover the want in other ways. The omnibus conductors and drivers find that they have souls, and that they do but enjoy a half existence while life is divided between bed and box; and they are asking for a species of "short time" suited to their business. The coalwhippers are again "on strike." And the Amalgamated Engineers are proposing a general amalgamation of all trades in a protective union, with a view to the regulation of industry. Numbers of the working classes continually drifting down the stream are cast away—go to "the Union"—"freedom of industry" taking no account of them. Their destruction is the price of a freedom which is beneficial only to the employing class. It comes within our knowledge, that a manufacturer has been heard to declare, how much better it was that such persons should die off, rather than be a burden on the rate-payers. Free trade does not cure the fault of Protection, which lets land go out of cultivation; both are equally culpable. Surplus labour co-exists with surplus land and surplus capital, a practical regulation of those doctrinaires who insist that "supply and demand" would always regulate all these elements of wealth, and keep them near the level. Meanwhile, certain practical administrators of the Poor Law perceive the necessity for rendering the surplus labour self-supporting, and they are setting the able-bodied to reproductive employment. In short, without any theoretical impulse, they are applying that great principle of *concert in the division of employments* which is the fundamental idea of Socialist economy. Protection takes care of the producer by excluding the consumer from any rival producer. Free trade frees the consumer, but takes no heed of the producer. Association teaches the consumer and producer to act in concert for their mutual interest, encouraging the largest amount of production without uncertainty of consumption.

THE UNITED REFORM IMPULSE.

The majority of the English people desires "Reform" with all its heart, or rather with all its reason—for the English heart appears to us to be in abeyance; but it cannot compass its will, because it cannot agree upon its own resolve. Thus the English people stands, wishing, avowing its wish, yet not accomplishing its wish, a spectacle to men and Protectionists! Anything more humbling to a great people never befel. In consequence of that one weakness, which renders it unable to make its own Parliament according to its mind, all its other resolves are in a like state of incompetency. It resolves to have reform of finances, and yet yearly its expenditure is increasing. It resolves to have enough means to defend itself from aggression from without; but, though the immense sums which it gives to ministers for that purpose are expended, its defences are below par. It resolves to have free trade, and really attains it; and now, in the sixth year of free trade, the question is again to be referred to Abingdon and Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire and Dorsetshire. The men of Manchester, who have

a direct interest in the maintenance of commercial freedom, meet and vote a fund of £27,000 in twenty-seven minutes, and Reformers are breathless with wonder at the feat; but nothing is subscribed in anything like that proportion to obtain such truly national representation as would place the question beyond contest. Reformers all resolve to have reform, but they cannot agree upon the sort they will have; and thus the whole body of the people is the laughing-stock of the miserable minority opposed to it.

The incidents at the Conference of the Parliamentary Reform Association confirm our conclusion, and help us to the key. The objects of the Conference were, to ascertain the degree of interest taken on the subject in the districts represented by the local deputations; to learn the best means of promoting the agitation; to explain an important obscurity in the original programme of the association; and to promote a union of reformers. The interest taken in the movement, from Bedford to Bradford, from Devon to Northumberland, is considerable. The explanation as to the rating point was satisfactory—the association showed that the suffrage would not be based on the payment of rates, but on the attestation of residence in the parish register of persons liable to rates. Some success was also attained in showing that the measure advanced by the association was not a "compromise," in the ordinary sense of that word, but a middle term which would unite, as it does unite, the largest amount of working-class support with the largest amount of middle-class support; a measure not proposed as the absolute and final reform, the one perfect chrysolite; but simply a tangible concrete shape, to render that middle term intelligible. The success in attaining union is to be ascertained by the experience of time. The palpable experience was not altogether satisfactory. The Chairman, on the first day, could not, or did not, check much interruption which came from those who "went further" than the association; and at the aggregate meeting, the association only escaped a hostile amendment. There is interest in reform—but not enough to concentrate public action; there is one desire for union,—but not enough to dictate self-possession; and at this Conference, language of a studiously irritating kind was uttered, not only by this or that intruder who came with some notorious "bee in his bonnet," but by recognised officials of the association, like Mr. George Thompson; as though the object were not union, but defiance.

To us, however, the conference is highly instructive, and, in many respects, hopeful. It has proved the existence of a strong and widely prevalent disposition to union. It has exhibited an uncredited amount of activity, of zeal, and of patriotism, as vigorous as it is disinterested. But it has also illustrated the crying wants of our day—those weaknesses of the time which paralyze public action, and render the people impotent before its antagonists. More than one speaker, like Mr. Varian and Mr. George Dawson, touched upon the mother disease—that selfish trading spirit which is breaking up society into a crowd of segregated, faithless individualisms, without power of united action, because without affection in a common humanity; without loyalty to religious conviction, or chivalrous feeling. "Each for himself," is a doctrine that destroys the power of organic action, and it is the doctrine paramount at this day. Manchester does not refute, but confirms it: men who invest a month's profits in promoting a policy favourable to their commercial business, cannot find a day's profit for a policy which would extend a share of influence to the working creators of wealth, and would unite the country in a national power. "The age of chivalry has gone;" but, thank God! it is also to come. The age of copper halfpence, "taking care of themselves," has passed its zenith; the age of paid priesthood preaching for its pence is on the decline; a new chivalry is proclaimed by such men as George Dawson, even in iron Birmingham; the heartfelt accents of a Varian take hold even of a business meeting; a Burns and an Ingram Lockhart give voice to a faith which is superior to sect. The "Dissenting" minister becomes the minister of a catholic faith; and if Practical Man, Esq., M.P., presides, even he is venerable, hearty, and well-inclined to see fair play to influences which are active before him, though his obsolete eyes cannot clearly make out what they are, or what they are doing. If idle demagogues, who have

ensconced themselves in a canting routine of ruffianism, have converted agitation into an institution, and have unlearned the instinctive art of appealing, in simple, broad language, to a people, can disturb a meeting assembled to deliberate, it is still the fact, that a meeting assembled for action, like that of the Amalgamated Engineers and their allies, is too strong for such obstructions. A sense of right has seized hold of the working-class mind; an unselfish faith has arisen to guide it in its contests; and chivalry and nationality meet with new and animated responses wherever they find voice.

Is it not Coleridge who says, that what with sectarianism and political economy, England has ceased to be a nation, and will only be restored to nationality by the appearance of a foreign foe? The time has almost come, and the better spirit is reawakening. The greatest of all benefactors to this country, not yet extinct in body or spirit, would be a foreign invader showing himself amongst us. We should then unite; we should then relearn national action; our middle classes would then regain that bold spirit before which the idle brawling demagogue would be as a cur barking at the feet of an unheeding horse; our severed "classes" would once more be a *People*, and "reform" would be had for the asking.

Meanwhile, the meeting has confirmed our faith in these two political truths—that the hearty English feeling is yet so far from extinct as to respond to every appeal of just intent and hearty candour; and that the true way to promote any movement, is to give the people something to do. Material action is a pleasure in itself; to expect that large masses of people will take much trouble in itself a fallacy; to expect reasoning from them is to expect what is perhaps undesirable; they will always respond when their feelings are addressed; they will gladly do what practical work their trusted leaders set them. Out of the material supplied by the Conference, the local representatives will find something to do tangibly; and so far they will be successful. But the managers of the movement must continue to supply suggestions for the same kind of practical, tangible work, both to extend the confidence in their practical ability, and to keep up the spirit which they desire to arouse.

LOUIS BONAPARTE'S TORY FRIEND IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

HENCEFORTH, it is idle to waste invective upon the crimes of a dictator, or lamentations upon the servitude of a people; but it is the instant duty of free journalists, who aspire less to the craft of statesmen, than to the vigilance of advanced sentinels, to unmask the designs, and to denounce the conspiracies, of a headstrong despotism, that threatens to overspread the last sanctuaries of European freedom.

It is no longer a secret of diplomacy that Switzerland is menaced in the very independence of her territories, and in the liberty of her institutions, by the man to whom, at the risk of hostilities, she once offered not merely the shelter of a generous hospitality, but the privileges of an honoured citizenship, and the enthusiasm of a lofty compassion.

We have heard from persons who were at Geneva, in 1838, how the spirit of a brave and simple people was aroused, when the sacred right of asylum was threatened by an army on their borders. But fourteen years have passed: the proscribed citizen of Thurgovia is now the sovereign disposer of French budgets, and of French bayonets. Be it his to repay hospitality with insult,—refuge with menace,—shelter and safety with aggression, if not with invasion.

Gratitude! (that most vulgar virtue) would be a flaw in the character of this man,—a blemish in his heroic biography,—a blot on his sanguinary escutcheon; and are not benefits forgot but the anticipation of oaths forsworn?

Besides, the volunteer of the anti-papal legion of 1831, is, in 1852, the "first born son of the Church,"—the sword of the Jesuit.

The defeat and disgrace of the Sonderbund, in 1847, must be avenged, and Protestant ascendancy be put down by the "soldiers of the Pope."

Switzerland, republican and Protestant, is a double foe to the altar and the throne.

Never was there a more propitious moment for this holy enterprise! Schwarzenberg is prepared (or was prepared but a few days since) to share the perils and the profits of a joint occupation. And what are the perils?—

Russia, standing afar off, and somewhat given to the pedantry of treaties, when her own designs are not impeded by their observance, may from Prussia, ostensibly uncatholic, may protest; and England—protestant England! Oh! England is "my intimate personal friend!" he visited me at Ham, he entertained me in Belgravia, he patted me on the back but yesterday: where shall I find a more confiding ally? As for Protestantism, he will keep that for Exeter Hall and Maynooth. Did not England, in 1849, deem the restoration of "His Holiness" to Rome advisable, and is it now likely that "*mon cher Malmesbury*—England, *par excellence*, will disapprove of my resolution to crush the last strongholds of continental radicalism?" Ah! we will not recall the England of Cromwell and Milton: but in more degenerate days, there was a time when national honour was an article of faith in the religion of the Tories. Jealous to excess was their susceptibility, we do not say to injury and affront, but to the bare imputation of complaisant subservency, or cringing connivance. The heart of the aristocracy of England was then, perhaps, in the right place, and, in the remotest corner of the habitable world, a British subject dared to think, that come insult, come death, the whole might of England was at his back to demand retribution and redress.

Cromwell, did we say? Why, what would Chatham have said, could that great "war minister," as your mincing Whig memoirs sneeringly call the last of the heroes, could he have listened to Edward Geoffrey, Earl of Derby, the Premier of England, delivering his profession of political faith to the assembled peers, on Friday evening, the 27th February?

For our own part, with all the respect we have often been tempted to avow for this noble and impetuous Earl, and often as he has favoured us with glimpses of a chivalry all too rare in these latter days, we have honestly failed to discern the frankness, the high spirit, and the generous boldness, of his Ministerial explanation.

We leave to other pens to criticise the vague and struggling ambiguities of his home and commercial policy. We are concerned with his announcement on our foreign relations. And we unhesitatingly and most calmly affirm that, coming immediately after the insolent asperities of Prince Schwarzenberg, the language of Lord Derby on "treaties," and on refugees, was of a nature to make their countrymen hang their heads for shame. If Lord Granville's reply to Austria was a "capitulation," Earl Derby's recapitulation was a panic and a flight.

Earl Derby talks, forsooth, of religiously respecting treaties which he religiously knows to have been broken over and over again by the high contracting Powers, just so often as they were found to be an obstacle or an incumbrance.

Nay, they have been passed by even with the consent of England, when some petty kingdom for an amiable Prince had to be created.

Now, concerning the refugees, mark how England, speaking through the mouth of Derby, wanes and dwindles into tameness and subservency as France and Austria wax more haughty and more exacting.

Mark how this Edward Geoffrey (how proud and high a name) feebly deprecates the word he fatally pronounces, while he would have us believe that he repudiates the act! "No espionage:—but we will closely watch, and we will faithfully report." Words that have scarcely found time to receive the approbation of his own country before they are endorsed by the official journals of his Foreign Secretary's "intimate personal friend, Louis Bonaparte."

"It is, perhaps, not generally known," says *La Patrie*—which then goes on to acquaint us with our Lord Malmesbury's visits of old time to the prisoner of Ham, and present intimate relations with the Prince President. No! we only know that our new Foreign Minister bears the name of one who brought away from home and friends a most unhappy Princess, to die broken-hearted and dishonoured in a strange land: we only know that he is the compiler of memoirs of the sorriest feats of backstairs diplomacy. It remains for us to hope, against hope, that we may not have to learn that he is by the grace of the Earl of Derby, and by the degenerate traditions of Toryism, the unwitting accomplice of Switzerland invaded, and of Belgium betrayed. Already in Belgium there are ominous rumours of insurrectional movements: false rumours, it is true:

but, as straws in the wind, significant of Imperial intrigues.

The Earl of Derby gave us a taste of his quality when as yet he only snuffed authority, on the first night of the session. He then told us that the press did not represent England.

In our turn, we have now to ask Lord Derby and his aide-de-camp Lord Malmesbury, "the intimate personal friend of Louis Bonaparte," whether they and their foreign friends represent England better than the English press—and what they are going to do in the affair of Switzerland?

WHAT EUROPE MAY EXPECT FROM FREE ITALY.

"It is a proud characteristic of the Italian mind," said Mazzini, at the *conversazione* of the Friends of Italy last week, "that it naturally and continuously aims at the harmonizing of what we call synthesis and analysis—theory and practice, and ought to call heaven and earth."

"It is a highly religious tendency—a lofty, instinctive aspiration towards the ideal, only coupled with a strong irresistible feeling that we ought to realize as much as we can of that ideal in our terrestrial concerns; that every thought ought to be, as far as possible, embodied into action. From our Etruscan towns, built and ruled according to a certain heavenly scheme, down to the 16th century—from the deep religious idea with which the soldier of ancient Rome was identifying his duties towards the City, down to the religious symbol, the Carroccio, led in front of our national troops in the middle ages—from the Italian school of philosophy, founded in the south of the Peninsula by Pythagoras, a religious and a political society at once, down to our great philosophy of the 17th century, in each of whom you will find a scientific system and a political Utopia—every manifestation of the free, original, Italian genius has been the transformation of the social earthly medium under the conjunction of a religious belief. Our great Lombard league was planned in Pontida, in an old monastery, the sacred ruins of which are still extant. Our republican parliaments in the old Tuscan cities were often held in the temples of God. We are the children and inheritors of their glorious tradition. We feel that the final solution of the great religious problem, emancipation of the soul, liberty of conscience, acknowledged throughout and for all mankind, is placed providentially in our hands; that the world shall never be free from organized imposture before a flag of religious liberty waves high from the top of the Vatican; that in such a mission to be fulfilled lies the genius of our initiative, the claim we have on the heart and sympathies of mankind."

This passage is, perhaps, the most profound expression that could be given of an Italian's view of what constitutes the characteristic peculiarity of the development of the Italian mind. Some nations—as, for example, the Germans—are characterized by a devotion to abstract speculation for its own sake; and this gives to their whole activity the appearance rather of a pure spiritual gymnastic than of energetic labour applied to real and tangible ends. Other nations, again, such as the French, are distinguished by an excessive tendency to political activity—a disposition to be continually working at express social problems. In this respect, according to M. Mazzini, the Italian occupies a kind of mean. Less remorselessly speculative than the German, and hence, perhaps, content with less magnificent and extreme speculative results, yet, on the other hand, less bent on incessant political experiment than the Frenchman—the Italian, as M. Mazzini holds, is actuated, more than the man of any other nation, by the desire to wed speculation to social fact, thought to action, theory to practice, heaven to earth. Whatever thought he has, and above all, whatever religious thought, it is his national habit not to rest until somehow he has housed this thought in social forms and institutions adequate to retain and represent it. To establish a unity, in short, between his spiritual aspirations and perceptions and his worldly condition and environment—this, says M. Mazzini, has been the characteristic of the Italian all along, as may be proved by a reference to all Italian thinkers and systems, from the earliest times to this.

If this is a correct delineation, it certainly assures to the Italian nation a high function among other nations. If the Italians are the nation whose peculiarity it is that, on the one hand, they limit the ideal to the possibilities of the ac-

tual, and, on the other, drive the actual to the bounds of the ideal,—then they are precisely the nation from which the world should naturally expect the successive initiatives of civilization on the great scale. For what is civilization but the perpetual reconciliation of practice with new and ever-advancing thought? If the Italian mind can do this best, then it is for the Italian mind to give, period after period, the new words or ordinances which the nations require. And such, certainly, has been its function hitherto. Twice—first in old Rome, and then in the Papacy—has the world received unity from an Italian source. Nay, as now, it would seem that Italy must either fulfil this function to the world at large, or be herself nothing,—alternating, as it were, between a state of personal death, and a state of such vitality, that the life will not be restrained within herself, but overflows all around.

And all this, as M. Mazzini hints—even if we treat it merely as a vague semblance of a conclusion from the past—tends to a grand possibility in the Italian future. What if the solution of the religious, or, rather, the ecclesiastical problem of the age (*ecclesiastical*, we say, for this is the proper word to express the external embodiment of the religious sentiment,)—what if the solution of the ecclesiastical problem of the age is to come anew from Italy? One *negative* contribution, at least, to the solution of this problem must come from Italy—the destruction of the Papacy. This, at least, the world must get from Italy, if it is to be obtained at all; and it is the height of infatuation in our champions of Protestantism not to see that the grand aim of all their efforts is irrevocably bound up with the question of Italian emancipation and unification, and can never be attained independently. Italy, however, may have more to do with the solution of the ecclesiastical problem of the age, than this negative contribution would imply. The Protestantism of English dissent may not be the only form of outcome from the ecclesiastical system of Papal Rome; and it may be for the Italian mind—once more setting itself to its favourite exercise, the reconciliation of practice with thought—to excoquite for the world, and deliver over to other nations a more universal and more positive attempt at a *Church of the future*. Well, then, may all the nations be interested in Italy.

AN "INCUMBENT;" ONE WHO ENCUMBERS.

ASSUREDLY the Church of England will die of that sickly portion of it which is called "low." There seems to be no end to the astounding revelations which daily come upon us, illustrative of the low church party. Nothing, in fact, is too low for them. Under the reign of phenomenal primates like "John Bird," the most wonderful facts come to light: and we are bewildered when we reflect, that an institution of such moment can contain at once an Archdeacon Denison, a Henry of Exeter, a Gorham, and a D. F. Morgan! The last-named gentleman deserves, and shall have, a niche all to himself by-and-by.

But first let us look facts in the face. Here is a proposition to build a church at Paddington, costing ten thousand pounds. The district is chiefly notable for the poverty of its population; the pretext for building the church is, that the gospel may be preached to these hard-lived people; and—that we should live to write it—the source from whence the ten thousand pounds is to be repaid is—the pew-rents! This church is to be plain—less than plain, an ugly composite; for has not the low church the instincts without the heroism of Puritanism? An ugly barn of brick and stucco, then, be it—and paid for by pew-rents. Hence may we not fairly infer, that this low church has altogether given up its mission to the *poor*, and intends henceforth to try and save only those souls who are capable of paying pew-rents? What an amazing "development!"

But is it only at Paddington that these things are visible in open day, shaming the sun? Have we not bishops rich in purple and palaces, and curates whose fortune is poverty? The church, as it goes with the Queen to open Parliament, is dignified, solemn, venerable. The surface of things is fair to see. But underneath the lawn and the mitre, where the works are, what do we behold? Poor curates, poor incumbents, poverty of all kinds. The blood of the church has, by good living, determined to its head, and must not apoplexy ensue? Let "John Bird"

and Thomas Musgrave look to it while there is yet time.

We have mentioned a reverend gentleman named Morgan as deserving separate pinning out as a specimen. Lately he has been installed at Leamington as incumbent of St. Mary's, and it is he who has suggested to us the title of this article, "Incumbent," one who encumbers." In the gay town of Leamington, long before the shadow of Morgan darkened its pavement, lived a musician named Merridew, a lady who, in addition to her domestic and work-day duties, had played on Sundays the organ of St. Mary's for twelve years. She had also given an annual concert, engaging artists like Sontag, Ernst, Sivori, Lablache, Sims Reeves, and Bottesini; and, in due course, one of these performances happened shortly after the arrival of Mr. Morgan. Horrible offence! He could not bear it. Friends were consulted in London, and their convictions coinciding with his, he sat down and wrote the following epistle to the sinner:—

LANSDOWNE HOUSE, LEAMINGTON, Feb. 6, 1852.

MRS. MERRIDEW.—However painful and apparently hard to you, I think it highly desirable that your services, as organist to St. Mary's, should not continue any longer. My own deep convictions have been strengthened by the opinions of friends whom I have consulted, not only here, but in London, of the extreme undesirableness of an organist of a church giving public concerts; with these convictions, I feel I have no alternative left but to inform you, that your engagement as organist of St. Mary's will terminate at the end of the quarter, March 31st, 1852.

I am, your obedient servant,

Mrs. Merridew.

D. F. MORGAN.

Did Mawworm or Tartufe ever speak more to the purpose? Note the exquisite vagueness of the language—the air of injured innocence it wears—perfumed with pity, as the canonic "front" of the writer when he ascends the pulpit is probably perfumed with musk—how gently it cuts off the resources of an industrious woman, whose earnings partly supported a large family; and how gracefully the writer bears the pain! Seeing such facts as these, how can we help asking, What are the rules, the beliefs, the heavenly message of the Church of England? That in Oxford they are interpreted one way, and in Leamington in another—nay, that in Leamington alone a new policy begins with a new incumbent! But why persecute music? Simply because High Church wishes to spiritualize art, and Low Church cannot tolerate any rival attraction to the "discourse" beloved of the "better half" of the congregation.

Farewell to Morgan! Let the dews of Warwickshire fall lightly on him. Let not a hair of his sanctimonious head be ruffled, not a plait of his unexceptionable shirt be disturbed by monitions of ours. Let his effigy be set up in the market-place, so that even the fowls of the air may know who has the monopoly of holiness.

Great is he—in the eyes of the "unco guid;" tolerant is he—in the eyes of St. Dominic; but small is he, and bigoted is he, in the eyes of heart-whole and generous men.

HINT TO LOUIS NAPOLEON.

We regret to see the vast number of decrees which emanate, directly or indirectly, from the President of the French Republic. Merely different versions of the same idea, the absolute power which he possesses, they are a grievous waste of inventive energy on his part. In the East, they have managed that sort of thing better: the power of the Sultan is simply absolute; decrees, edicts, and all other laws being superfluous. We recommend Louis Napoleon to take a holiday on the strength of that hint.

In the East, indeed, they find the necessity of some code for the many occasions of doubt in daily life, and they use the Koran for that purpose: Islam is governed by the Sultan and the Koran. There would, however, be a difficulty in applying the same rule to the French Sultan, since the volume which would be held sacred by the clergy on whom he relies, is full of passages that would refute and rebuke his every act. How could he tolerate any limitation of such precept as the recognition of a ruler's right to "the things which are Caesar's," when he accounts *all* things to be Caesar's, and will make good that pretension by spelling Seizer in the English way.

No; he must be absolute, without any rival authority, however sacred. Any other authority is incompatible with his. His subjects are learning the practice of consulting him directly, and will soon have to ask his permission for marrying or giving in marriage, for transacting

business in trade, for going out to take a walk. He has advertised rewards for galvanic inventions: is it not that the telegraph may be rendered audible, and that he may sit in Paris, with wires from every part of France to his ears—he sitting, cruel, and silent, and listening to the sighs of stifled fears and hopes, a Great Spider Dionysius?

FASHIONABLE PULPIT TERRORISM.

How is it, we have often asked, that at all fashionable watering places Low Church Despotism prevails? We mean that form of religion and that species of despotism which make pure godliness consist in rendering this life more gloomy than the terrors of the next; in rendering human existence nothing better or brighter than a short and narrow path towards the grave. The key to the enigma is simple. It is, that at these fashionable watering places the population are for the most part unsound in body, and proportionately in mind also. To invalids there is no stimulant like the cayenne of the Pulpit; and the "better-half" of the congregation will always prefer the Preacher to the Prayers.

THE FRIENDS OF ITALY.

THE first *Conversazione* of this Society was, in Mazzini's words, "a commentary, and an improved commentary," on the reply of Lord Granville to Schwarzenberg. The second will be a "bit of our mind" to Lords Derby and Malmesbury. Our readers will perceive in our advertising columns an announcement of the next *Conversazione*, which will be held at Freemasons' Tavern, on the evening of Wednesday the 24th inst. We shall have a spirit-stirring lecture from George Dawson, followed by a strictly conversational discussion, opened by Mazzini, who (we quote the Society's Record for this month) "will take occasion to address the meeting on such points, connected with the Italian question, as may be better developed by an *impromptu* reciprocation of sentiments between himself and the audience, than by another written lecture." We cordially welcome this conversational mode of eliciting the feelings and the opinions of what is sure to be a sympathetic audience on the absorbing topic of the evening.

SOCIAL REFORM.

"NOTES OF A SOCIAL ŒCONOMIST."

THE COÖPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS OF ENGLAND. XV. AND LAST.

"Le crédit est la métamorphose des capitaux stables et engagés en capitaux circulants ou dégaçés, c'est-à-dire, le moyen qui rend disponibles et circulables des capitaux qui ne l'étaient point, et leur permet par conséquent de se porter partout où leur besoin se fait sentir."—*Du Crédit et de la Circulation*, par CIESZKOWSKI.

AMONG the remarkable features of the present age, says Mr. Arthur Scratchley,* Benefit Building Societies occupy a very leading position. Large sums of money are already subscribed to these associations, and they seem likely, in a few years, to engage in their operations a considerable portion of the investing capital of this country. A Benefit Building Society, when properly constituted, is a species of joint-stock association, the members of which subscribe periodically, and in proportion to the number of shares they hold, different sums into one common fund, which thus becomes large enough to be advantageously employed, by being lent out at interest to such of the members as desire advances; and the interest, as soon as it is received, making fresh capital, is lent out again and again, so as to be continually reproductive. Large sums may be raised in this manner; for, to take an example,—if one thousand shares were subscribed for, at ten shillings per month per share, the amount in one year would be 6000*l.*, which might be advanced to any members who should wish to become borrowers. The payments of borrowers are so calculated as to enable them to repay, by equal instalments, within a specified period, the principal of the sum borrowed, and whatever interest may be due upon it throughout the duration of the loan. The other members, who have not borrowed, and who are called investors, receive, at the end of a given number of years, a large sum, which is equivalent to the amount of their subscriptions, with compound interest accumulated upon them.

The idea of a society upon this principle, correctly formed, and afterwards properly managed, is of the most admirable kind. For, on the one hand, it holds out inducements to industrious individuals to put by, periodically, from their incomes, small or large sums, which are invested

for them by the society; and, at the end of a certain time, are repaid to them in the shape of a large accumulation, without their having the trouble of seeking for suitable investments; while, on the other hand, the money subscribed being advanced to some of the members, enables them to purchase houses, or similar property, and to repay the loan by small periodical instalments, extended over a number of years. As regards the purchasing of house property, Benefit Building Societies must be deemed peculiarly advantageous. Every one knows that the price paid for long hiring is at least equal to the original price of the article hired; and yet, how many persons there are who deem it an unwise extravagance not to purchase their household furniture, and yet are content to hire their homes. It is only by means of these societies that persons not possessed of capital, and receiving their incomes periodically, can ever become possessors of a house; and this they are enabled to do from the fact that the annual repayments required by a society upon a loan, do not much exceed the rent of a house, which could be purchased with the sum borrowed.

Benefit Building Societies are divided into two distinct classes; the one *Terminating*, the other *Permanent*. A terminating society is one which is intended to close at the end of a certain period, when all the shares of the members have realized their full amount. In a permanent society it is merely the membership of a shareholder that terminates at the end of a fixed number of years, when he has received the full value of his shares; the society continues for ever. Mr. Scratchley is of opinion that the Permanent plan is entirely free from most of the objections peculiar to Terminating societies.

The first Benefit Building Society (a village club) was founded, in 1815, by the Earl of Selkirk, at Kircudbright, in Scotland. Institutions of a similar kind were afterwards established in Scotland under the title of "Menages," and the system was soon adopted in England by societies formed in Manchester and Liverpool at the public houses; and many of the early societies were named after the signs of the houses in which they were originally formed. After the year 1830, these societies increased rapidly in numbers, and on the 14th of July, 1836, a special Act (6 & 7 William IV. cap. 32), was passed for their encouragement and protection.

Up to the 30th of September, 1850, there had been registered, in the United Kingdom, considerably more than 2000 societies, of which, in England alone, 169 were added in the first nine months of that year; a proportionate increase having taken place in Scotland and Ireland. About 1200 of these societies are still in existence, of which the total income has been estimated at not less than 2,400,000*l.* a year.

The annual income of two or three of these societies amounts to 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* each.

By means of these societies, a great number of persons have become possessors of houses and land; yet it is remarkable that they have been overlooked by a class of people in more easy circumstances. There are a vast number of professional men, and others engaged in commercial pursuits, with ample means, who continue for years to pay away large sums in rent, without reflecting, that, by uniting together in the formation of a Benefit Building Society, they would be able to realize additional property for their families, with but little extra outlay.

The following is a brief statement of the various uses to which Benefit Building Societies are at present applicable:—

- 1st.—Provisions for old age may be secured.
- 2nd.—Houses can be purchased, instead of being hired, by a small annual expenditure.
- 3rd.—Influential persons, by promoting the formation of such societies, may secure greater benefits for their dependents than can be obtained by any effort, however extensive, of private charity.
- 4th.—Leaseholders, farmers, or others, desirous of providing for the *fine*, or renewal of their leases, can do so by joining a society as investors.
- 5th.—The premiums or fees for placing boys as apprentices or articled clerks to solicitors, engineers, &c., can be obtained in a similar way.
- 6th.—*Marriage and family endowments* of all kinds can be secured.
- 7th.—Benevolent institutions can borrow funds for the erection of almshouses, schools, &c.

The same principle of coöperation and mutual

assistance upon which Benefit Building Societies are based may be applied, in various ways, to the formation of other institutions for improving the condition of the operative classes, and for supplying modes of investment for the savings of persons of limited income,—by freehold land societies, for instance, building companies, and suburban villages, &c. &c.; also by the application of life assurance and the tontine principle to the purchase of freehold land or property at home and in the colonies, and by benefit *emigration* societies.

I must now conclude these rather desultory "Notes," in which a variety of questions, of daily increasing interest and importance, have been incidentally discussed, although Coöperative Association, especially, has been my text. I have briefly touched upon the now rather ticklish question of wages and profits; and I can prove that, for centuries, the English legislature has been actively engaged in protecting the interests of the landed aristocracy, at the cost of the operative; and, that while the price of food has been artificially raised by Act of Parliament, the price of labour or wages has been kept down and limited by statute. But if the conduct of the aristocracy be obnoxious to severe criticism, the arbitrary principles recently laid down by the Amalgamated Masters, are still more open to attack; and I venture to tell them, that they are thereby endangering those rights about which they are so clamorous.

WILLIAM CONINGHAM.

February 7th, 1852.

PILGRIMAGE TO TURNER'S COTTAGE.

[Extract from a Letter.]

I MET —, the celebrated —, the other evening. He had been a pilgrim to the cottage where Turner died. He had a sketch of the cottage, and all the particulars noted down. There was even talk of how much more rent the cottage would now bring, where this great artist lived and died; where he sat, day after day, upon the flat roof which he had nailed round, for the purpose of there gazing upon the heavens, and observing the effects of cloud and atmosphere. There, under a feigned name, free from the world, and apart from his reputation, did the great artist worship, and become a prophet in art—the raiser of a new school. For no less than this was accomplished by that strange, eccentric man, whom the neighbours used to observe, day after day, book in hand, upon the roof of his house. Some thought him mad; others, that he was an astrologer: for few know what is the art of greatness, and that none are so busy as those whom the world thinks idle. Life only can interpret life. Certainly his case is a very singular one: that he should be so grasping and so mean, and yet so glorious. . . . Possessing a good house and gallery in Queen Anne's Street, he preferred, in his love of his art, spending most of his time in his observatory, as you might call it; just far enough to get clear of the smoke, and not to lose the grand effects occasionally produced by it. Turner's early works did not exhibit any of the quality which burst forth in his advanced life. His drawing was always careful, but his early works exhibit only a reflex of the manner and style of the time. His new style was like the sun bursting out from the clouds. He rose from careful drawing to the expression of general effects. Like Socrates, he could bring down heaven to earth. He mingled cloud and tide, melted the solids into the sunlight, and his admirable sense of colour harmonized the whole. He painted the vapours, and piled up architecture in his compositions in the gorgeous magnificence conceived by the poet, gazing on the setting sun, there from his home-top. It was not the common earth he painted, but the earth seen through the atmosphere of heaven. He supplied the mind with what it yearns for—a greater perfection than is to be found in the ordinary circumstances, and the tangible things, of this world. All perception, after all, is but a kind of painting. He cultivated the sense in his contemplations, and, by an inductive and elevating process, completed what is incomplete. He satisfied the soul by giving an objective reality to our subjective creations. We imagine castles in the air: we must get a Turner to paint them; and, if any one should object that such creations are not like nature, it may be enough to reply—as Turner did reply on one occasion—"but would you not be delighted to see Nature like that?" How different the precociousness of the mere artist of form. . . . But Turner was a true poet in his art. Alas! that such poetic feeling should not elevate the character to moral and social poetry! But Nature is not prodigal of her gifts.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

THOMAS MOORE is dead. A long, active, successful, happy life, closed quietly and gently in its seventy-third spring. To the public he had been dead for many years, although his Melodies and pleasant verses lived in every house; he had so completely withdrawn himself from the noisy current of our daily life, that his final withdrawal from life itself is scarcely an event, none but those immediately connected with him can consider it a loss. His place in our literature has long been definitely settled. Few dispute his position. His beauties are obvious, his pretensions moderate, his faults inoffensive. He was not a great poet, but he was, and will be, a great favourite; and the secret of his success has been expressed, we think, in these felicitous words, taken from the finely-written essay in the *Times* of Monday:—"Most musical, most happy was his genius, and music and joyousness are careering in almost every syllable that he spoke." This it is that makes even the fastidious pardon the tinsel which captivates the vulgar eye with its glitter: under the tinsel a heart is beating; the spangles and rouge, and false taste, and false sentiment, are worn with an air of irrepressible gaiety, of delicate sensibility, and of pervading pleasureableness. Tears and laughter—genuine both, though neither deep—lie near the surface of his childlike nature. His verse had one great merit—it went, straight as an arrow, to the common heart.

This also is the great success of our great humorist, DICKENS, who this month opens wide the doors of *Bleak House*, inviting us to enter. Before these lines reach you, you have read the whole number,—thought the description of the fog laboured, and not effective; rubbed your hands, at the prospect of Dickens "working" the colossal nuisance of Chancery, recognised Sir Leicester Dedlock's British portrait, got a glimpse of the mystery lying beneath the calmness of his wife, enjoyed that "bit" of the small boy with his head through the railings, and the "person in patters" who was "poking the child from below with a broom—I don't know with what object, and I don't think she did"—and thoroughly appreciated Mrs. Jellyby and her "telescopic philanthropy." It is something to look forward to each month, "with the Magazines."

The Magazines this month are not peculiarly striking. *Fraser* opens with a review of ROEBUCK'S *History of the Whigs*, fairly done, but too gentle on the book's pervading pettishness; the admirable review of Sir JAMES STEPHEN'S *Lectures* is continued; as also Digby Grand's amusing autobiography, and Kingsley's ambitious, but somewhat wearisome, *Hypatia*. The new series, under the title of *Hora Dramatica*, by a renowned wit and scholar, will, we hope, better sustain his reputation in its succeeding papers: the drama he this month analyses has only the interest of curiosity. The notes on the *State and Prospects of France* are written by "one having authority," and are very interesting.

Tait takes up the Sanitary Question in its opening article, *Preventible Death*; and the *Law of Partnership* in another article. *The Letter to Lady Bulcher Lytton* is right in spirit, but a little too harsh in form; even her forgetfulness of her sex, and licence of expression, should not have tempted the writer into so angry a reply. From this article we learn that Lady LYTON is incensed against us, because an advertisement account was sent in from our publisher's to her for payment—a proceeding which she construes into an "insult."

The third number of the *British Journal* exhibits decided improvement; very pleasant is Mr. COLE'S *South African Incidents*; ANGUS REACH assaults a *Dozen Giants* in truculent style; Mrs. COWDEN CLARKE continues to discourse on *Sympathy with Unknown People*; and FRANK FAIRLEIGH continues his story.

While touching upon periodicals, let us notice the appearance of *The Scottish Athenæum*, which contains a long poem by ALEXANDER SMITH, called *The Page and the Lady*, and niggard must be the lover of poetry who would not gladly give his threepence for that remarkable poem, as luxuriant in imagery as anything written by the young KEATS.

LOUIS BLANC'S third volume of the *Révolution Française*, which promises to be his finest work, is out at last; we shall notice it at length on some future occasion: meanwhile, we may direct attention to its new facts and new views, gathered in the course of patient research, especially in our invaluable collection of the British Museum. LOUIS BLANC undertakes to prove that EGALITÉ was not at the bottom of those conspiracies with which his name has been associated, but that the real culprit was the Comte de PROVENCE, afterwards LOUIS XVIII.

BARANTE has also published his third volume of the *Histoire de la Convention Nationale*, which comes down to the epoch of CARRIER, at Nantes. PIERRE LEROUX, who is now an exile in London, is about to deliver a course of lectures on the *History of Socialism*; the interest of the subject, the curiosity felt for the man, and his own remarkable talent for exposition, will doubtless attract good audiences. PIERRE LEROUX has not only the necessary erudition for the task, he has also the prestige of having intimately known the modern Socialists.

Among the pleasant books recently published in France, let us mention ARSÈNE HOUSAYE'S volume of stories, *Les Filles d'Eve*, very piquant and French in its treatment; and LEON GOZLAN'S history of a hundred and

thirty women, *Le Niagara*, wherein a Frenchman's knowledge of things English is illustrated as usual.

An attempt is made, under very favourable auspices, to establish an incorporation of the craft of authorship. Such an incorporation as that set forth in the prospectus among our advertisements, is needed, not for the cultivation of literature or art—corporations have never favoured either letters or art—but for securing the personal welfare of men devoted to either. The agency is not invited in the desire for the growth of art, but in the desire to establish a means of personal benefit suited to the social condition in which we live, and to the relation which members of either craft cannot avoid with trading operations. As it is, authors and artists are as helpless as any other of the working classes, who are busy, disunited, and not familiar with commercial transactions. The want of co-operation and organization is very generally felt. A literary man cannot sign a legal document without being reminded that he has no legal professional designation; and probably he falls back upon the term "gentleman," which has in law language a signification different from the herald's. In the Athenæum Institute is an incorporation which would supply the desired professional status. The scheme also includes a provident fund for old age, a benefit fund for temporary need, an educational fund, a machinery for protecting the interests of the profession, and a plan of insurance in connexion with an office already established and enjoying a high character. By the project, the member would enjoy large benefits, certain or contingent, at a cost comparatively trifling. In the distance looms a common hall, with "chambers," for the convenience of members; in short, an Inn of Literature. The enterprise can be made certainly successful by the prompt co-operation of literary men and artists. It already is favoured with support from more than one distinguished man; its pledged adherents belong to all parties—or rather, in this brotherhood of the craft, to no party; its success is promised in the excellent spirit with which it starts.

SCIENCE AND SCRIPTURE.

The Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some Parts of Geological Science. By John Pye Smith, D.D. Fifth Edition. With short Sketch of the Literary Life of the Author. By J. Hamilton Davies, B.A. (Bohn's Scientific Library.)

H. G. Bohn.

SCIENCE versus Scripture: the grand struggle of the world lies there! For three centuries, with ever-increasing velocity, the minds of men have been irresistibly drawn to this conclusion; and since the discoveries of positive science carry with them the inestimable and convincing privilege of demonstration, so that men in vain endeavour to resist them, the last refuge of theology has been to reconcile these discoveries with the precise language of Scripture. The march of science has been a rapid conquest; and affrighted theology sees its most formidable enemy gradually assuming its place in men's minds. The fanatical theologian, thunders against science; the theologian, whose candour and sagacity prevent his thus condemning human inquiry, and rejecting ascertained truths, tasks his ingenuity to reconcile to his own mind the palpable contradiction between Genesis and Lyell's *Elements*.

One of these candid and truly religious minds was Dr. Pye Smith, whose work on geology and Scripture, Mr. Bohn has recently issued in his *Scientific Library*. Five editions testify to the popularity of this book. We should be glad to hear of five more, for it is an admirable treatise, handling a delicate and all-important topic, interesting in its details, and, above all, interesting for the candour, philosophy, and high moral tone it displays. We have read no such work on the orthodox side. If we cannot but regard it as most destructive of that very orthodoxy it is written to support, the reason is, that no candid statement can, in our opinion, have any other tendency; and this work is so candid, that we are content to let the cause be judged by its own showing.

There are four distinct topics treated in this volume. I. A defence of the study of science, and the acceptance of its conclusions—a defence rendered necessary by the vehement denunciations of theologians, whose *instinct* told them truly when it told them to dread science as their merciless destroyer. II. A statement of the principal contradictions between the express language of Scripture and the irresistible conclusions of geology. III. A refutation of the various attempts to "reconcile" these statements by declaring the language to be metaphorical—e.g., that a "day" means an epoch of thousands of years. IV. Dr. Smith's own proposal for adopting the statements in Genesis to modern views.

We leave the first-mentioned topic untouched. The other three shall be briefly examined.

Dr. Smith gives up the notion of Eden as a general centre of creation:

"It is not Geology merely, but other branches of Natural History, that are contradicted by this interpretation of the Scriptures. The fossil remains, whether animal or vegetable, which are found embedded in the strata of different formations, are in general spread over a large surface; especially so, as we go back to the earlier classes of rocks: but the extent of surface is limited, in both latitude and longitude. This also is the case in the most striking manner, with respect to the present distribution of the earth's vegetable and animal tenantry; the condition to which the subject before us precisely refers. Eden, the region occupied by the first human pair, and the animals and plants associated with them, provided for their use, and subjected to their dominion, was in the finest part of the temperate zone. The persons who implicitly receive the opinion just-mentioned, have perhaps never asked themselves how animals, which the Creator has formed with the most precise and perfect adaptations to widely different conditions of habitation, could subsist, even for a few days, in or around the original paradise: or, if this difficulty be evaded, by a presumptuous evocation of miracles, or some other arbitrary supposition, the further inquiry presents itself, by what means the respective races, whether progenitors or descendants, could make their way to congenial climes; some to the regions of fierce equatorial heat, others to those of

eternal ice, and a rigour of cold which no animal can endure for but a few hours, if not protected by the power and skill of man, excepting those which are fitted for it by a wise and wonderful variety in the forms and functions of their bodily structure, internal as well as external. In all the species of animals, the entire anatomy, and the outward provision of covering, defence, and mode of obtaining food, are adapted to their indigenous locality, with a power and precision which richly display the inexhaustible resources of creative wisdom. A few species, indeed, are formed to enjoy a very wide range, they being among the animals readily domesticated and the most serviceable to man. Yet even they, we have much reason to think, were originally indigenous in particular places: and it is worthy of observation that some of these species, by being brought into widely different circumstances as to climate and treatment, acquire, through the lapse of many generations, alterations of form so remarkable, that uninstructed persons might take them for specifically different animals: but that these differences constitute only varieties, and not species, is established by clear anatomical evidence, and by the test of continuous progeny."

It is the admitted conclusion of botanical science that vegetable creation must have had a variety of different centres, each of which was the original seat of a certain number of species, which first grew there and nowhere else; and all we know of zoological distribution points to the same conclusion: for, indeed, what are species but differences resulting from the differences in physical conditions, and their correlations with the organisms?

The Flood is examined by Dr. Smith with great care, and the discrepancies between the narrative and modern science fairly shown to be irreconcilable. He holds that the scriptural account is only the history of the Jewish people, and must not be extended to the whole world.

"Upon the supposition that the words of the narrative require to be understood in the sense of a strict and proper universality, another difficulty arises with respect to the preservation of animals. Ingenious calculations have been made of the capacity of the ark, as compared with the room requisite for the pairs of some animals, and the septuples of others: and it is remarkable that the well-intentioned calculators have formed their estimate upon a number of animals below the truth, to a degree which might appear incredible. They have usually satisfied themselves with a provision for three or four hundred species at most; as in general they show the most astonishing ignorance of every branch of Natural History. Of the existing mammalia (animals which nourish their young by breasts), considerably more than one thousand species are known; of Birds, fully five thousand; of Reptiles, very few kinds of which can live in water, two thousand; and the researches of travellers and naturalists are making frequent and most interesting additions to the number of these and all other classes. Of Insects (using the word in its popular sense) the number of species is immense; to say one hundred thousand would be moderate: each has its appropriate habitation and food, and these are necessary to its life; and the larger number could not live in water. Also the innumerable millions upon millions of animalcules must be provided for; for they have all their appropriate and diversified places and circumstances of existence. But all land animals have their geographical regions, to which their constitutional natures are congenial, and many could not live in any other situation. We cannot represent to ourselves the idea of their being brought into one small spot, from the polar regions, the torrid zone, and all the other climates of Asia, Africa, Europe, America, Australia, and the thousands of islands; their preservation and provision; and the final disposal of them; without bringing up the idea of miracles more stupendous than any that are recorded in Scripture, even what appear appalling in comparison. The great decisive miracle of Christianity, the RESURRECTION OF THE LORD JESUS, sinks down before it."

We need not recapitulate the old astronomical and geological objections: they must be familiar to the reader, and Dr. Pye Smith admits their validity. He does not attempt to attenuate their force as directed against the ordinary interpretation of Scripture, because he is ready with a theory of his own which frees theology from the dilemma without forcing it to give up either the Bible or science. Let us see how he approaches this dilemma. He begins by refuting, and satisfactorily too, the favourite notion of the language of Scripture being metaphorical. Speaking of the creation in six days, he says:—

"Upon the very face of the document, it is manifest that in the first chapter the word is used in its ordinary sense. For this primeval record (terminating, as was remarked in a former lecture, with the third verse of the second chapter,) is not a poem, nor a piece of oratorical diction; but is a narrative, in the simple style which marks the highest majesty. It would be an indication of a deplorable want of taste for the beauty of language, to put a patch of poetical diction upon this face of natural simplicity. But, one might think that no doubt would remain to any man who had before his eyes the concluding formula of each of the six partitions, 'And evening was, and morning was, day one'; and so throughout the series, repeating exactly the same form; only introducing the ordinal numbers, till we arrive at the last, 'And evening was, and morning was, day the sixth.'"

"If there were no other reason against this, which I may call device of interpretation, it would appear quite sufficient to require its rejection, that it involves so large an extension in the liberty, or licence, of figurative speech. Poetry speaks very allowably of the day of prosperity or of sorrow, the day of a dynasty or of an empire: but the case before us requires a stretch of hyperbole which would be monstrous. A few hundreds, or even thousands, of days turned into years, would not supply a period sufficiently ample to meet the exigency of geological reasoning; while this way of proceeding, to obtain the object desired, is sacrificing the propriety and certainty of language, and producing a feeling of revolt in the mind of a plain reader of the Bible."

But, the reader asks, if the plain statements of Scripture are admitted to be erroneous, and we are not to understand its language as metaphorical, how are the contradictions to be reconciled? Here Dr. Pye Smith advances with his proposition—viz., that when the Deity spoke to man in Revelation, he used such expressions as *comported with the knowledge of the age in which they were delivered*—and the Jews being ignorant of geology, zoology, and astronomy, were spoken to in the current language of their ignorance. "We stand, therefore, on safe ground," adds Dr. Smith, "and are fully warranted by divine authority to translate the language of the Old Testament upon physical subjects into such modern expressions as shall be agreeable to the reality of the things spoken of."

This is Dr. Smith's position. He claims it as original, but it is as old as Giordano Bruno, who, in the fourth dialogue of *La Cena de le Ceneri* (*Opera Ital.*, vol. i. p. 172, *seq.*), not only states the principle, but applies it. The Bible, he says, does not treat of science, as if it were a work of philosophy, but of morality; and that being its purpose, physical things are spoken of in the language best understood by those it addressed.

On this principle we cannot but remark,—I. It is derogatory to Infinite Wisdom to suppose that it could not have employed Truth for its revelations as easily as Error. II. If admitted, the same licence must be extended to moral and religious expressions, and thus the morality and religion of the Bible become adapted to modern ideas, which is tantamount to throwing the Scriptures aside. III. That it is a pure assumption.

Dr. Pye Smith himself shall furnish us a passage in support of our second remark:—

"It is impossible to deny that the Scripture does use language, even concerning the highest and most awful of objects, God and his perfections and operations, which we dare not say is literally true, or that it is according to the reality of the things spoken of. I entreat renewed attention to the evidence which I have adduced. Will any man deny that the Scripture, in places innumerable, particularly in the earlier books, speaks of God as having the bodily form and members of a man, and the mental passions and imperfect affections of men? Or will any say that such descriptions and allusions are properly true; that they are according to the reality of things? Shall we, *can we*, believe that the infinite, Eternal, and unchangeable Being, comes and goes, walks and flies, smells, hears, and sees, and has heart and bowels, hands, arms, and feet? Or that he deliberates, inquires, suspects, fears, ascertains, grieves, repents, and is prevailed upon by importunity to repent again and resume a rejected purpose? Do not the same Scriptures furnish us amply with the proper exponents of those figurative, and, strictly speaking, degrading terms?"

Thus we are thrown upon our skill in Interpretation. But whose Interpretation are we to stand by as the true? The immense facilities given to such licence of reading the plain text of Scripture may be seen in the way Plato amuses himself with interpreting the Hellenic myths, and the way Bacon displays his ingenuity in his *Wisdom of the Ancients*.

After a careful study of Dr. Pye Smith's book, the ingenious reader might say, "It is here proved that I am not to accept the plain language of Scripture on physical things, because science contradicts it; I am not to interpret the language as metaphorical, for it was certainly not meant metaphorically. But although fact and science tell me this book is greatly in error on physical things, I am bound to believe it implicitly on moral things, for it is revealed truth. What proof have I that it is a revelation? Theologians tell me so. But the priests say as much to the Mahometans of the Koran! Before I can believe a book, admitted to be crowded with errors, is a book to which I am to surrender my spiritual guidance, I demand some proof of its divinity. Dr. Pye Smith refers me to the internal evidence."

"Whether the original writer of this sacred archive was Moses, or whether he was placing at the head of his work a composition of an earlier patriarch, the calm majesty and simplicity of the declaration give, as a matter of internal evidence, the strong presumption that he spoke with authority: that he only repeated what the Omniscient Spirit had commanded him to say and write. The declaration is, in the New Testament, adduced as an object of faith; which implies a divine testimony."

But that which may be a strong presumption to Dr. Smith is none to me; the internal evidence, so far from pointing to a divine authority, points to a Jewish author, whose conceptions of the universe I see to be those of barbarian ignorance, and whose conceptions of the Deity are repugnant to my moral sense."

To sum up: The explanations of natural phenomena given by Scripture and those given by science are irreconcilable. Science or Scripture—choose between them, for you cannot ask the world to yield obedience to both!

NICARAGUA.

Nicaragua: its People, Scenery, Monuments, and the Proposed Inter-Oceanic Canal. By E. G. Squier. 2 vols. Longman and Co.

THE author of these two very amusing volumes was the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States to the Republics of Central America, and had, consequently, great facilities of access to sources of information. To the advantage of position, he added the advantage of a lively, open mind, a taste for antiquarianism and ethnology, and the power of treating grave subjects with a vivacity not gained at the expense of his solidity. He resembles French travellers in this union of the serious with the gay, as also in his dislike of the "Britishers" and admiration of the fair sex. What with the novelty of his subject, and the liveliness of his style, he has produced two extremely pleasant volumes of travel.

After an elaborate introduction, which treats of the geography, climate, &c., of Central America in general, and the topography, climate, population, &c., of Nicaragua in particular, Mr. Squier narrates the incidents of his own personal experience during the expedition. He then discusses the question of an inter-oceanic canal, dissertates on the aborigines of Nicaragua, and sketches the history of the Spanish American Republics, down to the present time. The numerous illustrations which accompany the text, are, for the most part, really illustrative, especially those very curious pictures of the Nicaraguan antiquities. But the pages are crowded with pen pictures: we may almost dip *ad aperturam*, and be certain to light upon something like this glimpse of San Juan:—

"The population of the town was all there, many-hued and fantastically attired. The dress of the urchins from twelve and fourteen downwards, consisted generally of a straw hat and a cigar, the latter sometimes unlighted and stuck behind the ear, but oftener lighted and stuck in the mouth; a costume sufficiently airy and picturesque, and, as B—— observed, 'excessively cheap.'"

"Most of the women had a simple white or flowered skirt (*uagua*) fastened above the hips, with a 'guipil,' or sort of large vandyke, with holes, through which the arms were passed, and which hung loosely down over the breast. In some cases the *guipil* was rather short, and exposed a dark strip of skin from one to

four inches wide, which the wanton wind often made much broader. It was very clear that false hips and other civilized contrivances had not reached here, and it was equally clear that they were not needed to give fullness to the female figures which we saw around us. All the women had their hair braided in two long locks which hung down behind, and which gave them a school-girl look quite out of keeping with the cool, deliberate manner in which they puffed their cigars, occasionally forcing the smoke in jets from their nostrils. Their feet were innocent of stockings, but the more fashionable ladies wore silk or satin slippers, which (it is hoped our scrutiny was not indelicately close) were quite as likely to be soiled on the inside as the out. A number had gaudy-coloured *rebozos* thrown over their heads, and altogether, the entire group, with an advance-guard of wolfish, sullen-looking curs, was strikingly novel, and not a little picturesque."

Or like this:—

"We then sauntered through the town, looking into the door-ways, catching occasional glimpses of the domestic economy of the inhabitants, and admiring not a little the perfect equality and general good understanding which existed between the pigs, babies, dogs, cats, and chickens. The pigs gravely took pieces of *tortillas* from the mouths of the babies, and the babies as gravely took other pieces away from the pigs. B— observed that this was as near an approach to those millennial days when the lion and the lamb should lie down together as we should probably live to see, and suggested that a particular 'note' should be made of it for the comfort of Father Miller and the Second-Advent Saints in general."

Obliged, by necessities of space, to restrain ourselves in the matter of extract, we pass by several longer passages for this, which "comes home to the business and—breakfasts of men:—"

CHOCOLATE.

"He who has drunk one cup," says Cortez, in one of his letters, 'can travel a whole day without any other food, especially in very hot climates; for chocolate is, by its nature, cold and refreshing.' And the quaint old traveller in Central America, Gage, devotes a whole chapter to its praise, the manner of its use, and its effects on the human system. He asserts that *chocolate* 'is an Indian name, compounded from *atl*, which in the Mexican language signifies *water*, and *choco-choco*, the sound which water makes when stirred in a cup.' He claims for it a most healthful influence, and bears his testimony as follows: 'For myself, I must say, I used it for twelve years constantly, drinking one cup in the morning, another yet before dinner, between nine and ten of the clock; another within an hour or two after dinner, and another between four and five in the afternoon; and when I purposed to sit up late to study, I would take another cup about seven or eight at night, which would keep me waking till about midnight. And if by chance I did neglect any of these accustomed hours, I presently found my stomach faint. And with this custom I lived for twelve years in these parts, healthy, without any obstructions, or opipulations; not knowing what either fever or ague was.'"

MR. GLADSTONE'S REJOINDER TO NAPLES.

An Examination of the Official Reply of the Neapolitan Government. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. for the University of Oxford. Murray.

MR. GLADSTONE'S exposure of the official defence of the Neapolitan Government is as crushing as his original attack, which provoked that defence. His opinion of the defence, as a whole, is thus expressed in the beginning of the present pamphlet:—

"I have termed the production before me a reply which is no confutation, nor even an attempt at one; and I must freely confess that my first quarrel is with its title. It is called 'A Review of the Errors and Misrepresentations published,' and so forth; but, if the object of a title be to give a correct description, it ought to have been denominated 'A Tacit Admission of the Accuracy of Nine-tenth Parts of the Statements contained in Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen.' For those who do not enter into the case, it sounds very well when they are told that the errors and misrepresentations, or, as they have in some quarters been called, falsehoods and calumnies, of my Letters have been answered; but I now assert, without fear even of challenge, that nine-tenths of my most startling assertions are passed by in total silence in the Apology of the Neapolitan Government. And I suppose it is no extravagant assumption if I treat that silence, in an answer that made its appearance three or four months after the parties were made acquainted with the charge, as simply equivalent to an admission of the facts."

After some preliminary remarks in the same strain, Mr. Gladstone criticises the defence point by point. He divides his reply into four parts. In the first part, he notices and retracts certain small statements in his former pamphlet, in which he now believes that he was mistaken; in the second, he notices those cases in which his former assertions have been contradicted by the Neapolitan Government, but in which he still sees ground to adhere literally to what he said; in the third, he points out cases in which the Neapolitan government, without at all really contradicting what he said, has tried to produce an impression of such contradiction being offered; and, in the fourth, he alludes to certain contradictions offered by Mr. Macfarlane, and other volunteers in the defence of the Government of Naples, but totally omitted in the official reply.

After waiving aside the miserable petty quibbles of the Neapolitan volunteers—Mr. Charles Macfarlane and Mr. Gordon, Mr. Gladstone launches out into general political considerations, *apropos* of the relation of such enormities as those of the Neapolitan Government, to the prospects of the cause of good government in general, and especially of Conservatism. We like this part of the pamphlet the least. Even more than Mr. Gladstone's first pamphlet, it shows his indisposition to rise to the height of the question—his morbid affection for all that calls itself *calm*. Mr. Gladstone may be assured, that let him draw such enormities as those of Naples ever so clearly into the light of judicial investigation, their cure is irrevocably bound up with those larger questions of popular government, and Italian unity, from which he so punctiliously abstains. With this exception, however, (and if Mr. Gladstone lives long, he will perforce find himself pushed forward into these general political speculations from which he now shrinks,) the pamphlet is an honour to its author and a credit to England. Mr. Gladstone, however, is not a member of our new Tory government: and it is to be surmised that the Royal executioner of Naples may find a more indulgent critic in the "intimate personal friend" of M. Louis Bonaparte, than in the Conservative colleague of Sir Robert Peel.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

The Christian Congregation. A Discourse delivered in the Remonstrant Presbyterian Meeting House, York-street. By David Maginnis, Minister.

THE one religious idea which the *Leader* has from its commencement enforced and illustrated—that, namely, of a truly Catholic Church embracing every variety of opinion within its unity of sentiment—is every month assuming a more *practical* shape; every month we receive fresh tidings of successful propaganda. The *Discourse* now before us was addressed to a Congregation such as we have described. See how plainly Mr. Maginnis, the minister, speaks—(he has been describing the lip-homage of conformity):—

"I hardly know which to condemn the more severely—the mean, cowardly, fashioned creatures, that thus make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience; or the churches, which, by requiring profession of certain opinions as the condition of membership, encourage, if not cause, such a deadly infidelity."

"Again: unity of opinion is an impossible basis. Perfect agreement, on a variety of speculative subjects, is not attainable by any considerable number of persons. And when it is professed, I hesitate not to say that it is the unity either of mental death or of hypocrisy. If there be unity, it is the unity of unthinking minds who receive their opinions on trust, who allow themselves to be spoon-fed by their religious teachers, who unquestioningly receive their church's creed, and being hers, would swear to it, if necessary. But, if they are men who think and judge for themselves, and yet profess to think all alike, to hold exactly the same opinions, I tell you, it is the profession of hypocrites.—The uniformity-of-opinion theory has been tried for centuries, and it will not work. Every sect in Christendom has attempted it and failed. Instead of producing real unity, it has caused new differences, and therewith new sects. And this is to be expected. As thinkers multiply, sects multiply; and, if the course be persevered in, the result must be actual individualism in its worst form;—each person isolated from every other,—his points of difference projecting like the quills of the porcupine, and preventing all intimate connexion or friendly co-operation with his neighbour. Not such an issue did Christianity contemplate, still less desire; nor such a state of things does humanity require for the full culture of man's whole nature—for the faithful performance of life's sacred duties. This to accomplish demands the union of men all in a common affection, in a common interest, in united labours of usefulness and love;—to secure which the uniting bond must be—not unity of opinion, but—unity of heart and of aim; a common desire the truth to know, a common desire to aid and be aided in forming character—the soul's aspirations, the mind's thoughts, the whole life, in conformity with the will divine."

Polonius: a Collection of Wise Sayes and Modern Instances.

W. Pickering.

POLONIUS, whose grey wisdom tells us that "*la verdaad es siemprie verde*"—truth is for ever green," has here collected "instances" from Bacon to Carlyle, which will arrest the idler reader; and dull as books of aphorisms are said to be, no one, we think, will pronounce this dull. We cannot but regret, however, that all the aphorisms here collected were not strung together on some thread of bright and pleasant commentary, such as the preface. It is a charming volume.

The Home Circle, for March.

Fraser's Magazine.

Tail's Magazine.

Black House. By Charles Dickens. Part I.

Writings of Douglas Jerrold—The Story of a Feather.

Mr. Spange's Sporting Tour. By the Author of "Handley Cross," &c. Illustrated by Leech.

The Gardeners' Record, and Amateur Florists' Companion. Edited by Mr. J. T. Neville.

The Household Narrative. Conducted by Charles Dickens. 10, Wellington-street, North.

Penny Maps. Part XX. Chapman and Hall.

Life and Adventures of Mercy Chittoree. By W. H. Ainsworth. Part IV. Chapman and Hall.

The British Journal, for March. Elliott and Jones.

Protection and Communism. From the French of M. Bastiat. John W. Parker and Son.

The Portrait Gallery. Part III. Orr and Co.

Chambers's Pocket Miscellany. Vol. III. Orr and Co.

The Slingsby Papers; a Selection from the Writings of Jonathan Freke Slingsby. Orr and Co.

Knight's Companion Library—Half Hours with the Best Authors. By C. Knight. Part II. Charles Knight.

The Companion Shakespeare. Part II. Charles Knight.

The Country House, the Oz, and the Dairy. By W. C. L. Martin. Part IV. Charles Knight.

Curiosities of Industry and the Applied Sciences. By G. Dodd. Part IV. Charles Knight.

Knight's Pictorial Shakespeare—Cymbeline. Part XXII. Charles Knight.

Knight's Companion Library—The Best Story-Tellers. Part II. Charles Knight.

The Book-case—Across the Rocky Mountains from New York to California. By W. Kelly. Simms and McIntyre.

The Burning of the Amazon. A Ballad Poem. By the Rev. C. H. Townsend. Chapman and Hall.

The Four Primary Sensations of the Mind. By John Bell. Chapman and Hall.

Observations on Life Assurance Societies and Savingsbanks. By Arthur Scratchley. John W. Parker and Son.

Old Eighteen-fifty-one: a Tale for any Day in 1852. Houston and Stoneman.

Regal Rome, an Introduction to Roman History. By F. W. Newman. Taylor, Walton, and Maberly.

The Illustrated Exhibitor and Magazine of Art, for March. John Cassell.

Portfolia.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—GOETHE.

MAGNETIC EVENINGS AT HOME.

LETTER V.—TO G. H. LEWES.

You will not be surprised to hear that the result of our first experiment in *clairvoyance* had the effect of making my friend and myself ardently desirous of witnessing a second. Nothing we had hitherto seen on any previous evening had (to use a common but expressive phrase) so "completely staggered us" as this last phenomenon of the magnetic second-sight. To attempt to reason about it seemed perfectly hopeless: there was something too weird and supernatural about the whole process of *clairvoyance* for the sort of discussion which men give to practical everyday-wonders. The mysterious shaping of the vision seen by V—; its gradual growth on the mirror, from a round spot to separate arms and legs, and thence to a perfect human figure—that figure the exact similitude of a person whom the *clairvoyant* had never seen; the working of the occult spiritual sympathies which taught her (unaided by the faintest hint, the slightest betrayal of emotion from any one present), first, vaguely to connect the vision she saw with *me*, then instinctively to assist herself by contact with my hand and connexion with my thoughts, in discovering the relationship which had been rigidly and entirely kept a secret from her—these were marvels that defied logical analysis as completely as they outraged logical probabilities. All that we had seen and heard literally passed belief;

and yet, what was to be done but believe it? Disbelieve it! you will say. So I would willingly, if I could only believe, to begin with, that the intimate friends of my intimate friends were impostors, and that my fellow-spectator and I were both of us fools. Other people may be able to assume this comfortable hypothesis—I, unfortunately, cannot!

One impression was strongly conveyed by V——'s manner and language during the progress of our experiment—viz., that her spiritual sympathies and mental instincts were so extended in range, and so sharpened in intensity, while she was in the magnetic state, that her mind could act and her thoughts move in the most intimate connexion with the minds and thoughts of others. It is, I am well aware, a sufficiently perilous and daring assertion to say, that one human being is really able under any circumstances, to "read the thoughts" of another; yet to this conclusion every word and action of V——'s, at the time when she asked me to take her hand and think of the person whose name I had written down, seems inevitably to lead. If any rational explanation can be given of the wonders of *clairvoyance*, it must, I think, be sought for in this direction; it must start from the assertion, that the *clairvoyant* possesses a mysterious insight into the mind, a mysterious sympathy with the inmost feelings of the individual whose duty it is to think of the person, or the place appointed to test the capabilities of the magnetic second-sight. A, for instance, secretly thinks of some friend or relative, a perfect stranger to B, whom B is to behold and describe. B, however, is able to think with the thoughts and feel with the feelings of A; and, guided by that sympathy, goes aright, therefore, to the discovery of the object which A has appointed for search. This mode of explanation might, perhaps, be made to throw some little light on the mysteries of *clairvoyance*; but even if it be admitted as satisfactory, how much that is incomprehensible and marvellous must still remain unelucidated! The subject, after all, defies any analysis—the mystery is to be seen, yet not to be penetrated. It is best asserted by the practical results that we can really and truly see and hear for ourselves. To those results, therefore, let me now return.

On the evening of our second experiment, the black mirror was dispensed with. V—— was placed in an easy chair by the fireside, and magnetized in the usual manner. The duty of selecting the new test for her capabilities was then accorded to my friend, Mr. S——, the gentleman whom I have mentioned as having been present on the occasion of our former experiment.

Mr. S—— had only a few days since returned from Paris. The card of one of his French friends happened to be in his pocket, and he gave it to V——, as the object of the new search on which we were now to employ her. The Count and I looked at this card before it was handed to the *clairvoyante*. The letters on it were so faintly and minutely printed in what the writing-masters call "hair-strokes," that it was very difficult to read them by candle-light. When we at length succeeded in doing so, we found that the name was perfectly unknown to both of us—perfectly unknown, indeed, to every one in the room but Mr. S——. I further inquired of that gentleman whether he had mentioned his French friend's name, or any subject in immediate connexion with it—either by letter, during his absence, or personally, on his return to England—to any relatives or friends in the town where we were now staying. He assured me that he had not. He had even forgotten that he had brought away the card in his pocket, until he accidentally drew it forth a moment ago; and he was, moreover, quite certain that he had neither directly nor indirectly mentioned to a single soul in England under what circumstances he had seen his French friend, when that friend gave him the card.

The first question asked of V—— was, whether she could read the name. She sat with her eyes closed, as usual, away from the candles, and holding the card in her lap. After a long pause, she said that the writing was so small and indistinct that she could not read it correctly; two things, however, she could discover—the name was a French name, and the name of a man.

Finding her so far right, Mr. S—— inquired of our host whether V—— would be able to tell him where and under what circumstances he had last seen his French friend. The Count replied that he had no doubt she could; and recommended Mr. S—— to place himself in communication with her; and ask all the necessary questions himself, as the person present best qualified to put them. Mr. S—— took the advice. Except in one or two unimportant cases, it was he and not the magnetizer who interrogated V——. I took down the questions and answers myself as they passed. You will find the results of our second experiment which I am now about to submit to you, even more extraordinary and more startling than those which proceeded from our first.

Question. Where did I last see the French gentleman? A. At Paris, (right.) Q. In what place did I see him; was it out of doors or in? A. In doors; in a room, (right.) Q. At what time of day did I see him? A. In the morning, (right.) Q. At what sort of visit was it that I saw him? A. At a breakfast visit, (right.) Q. How many people were seated at table? A. Seven, (right.) Q. How many ladies and how many gentlemen were there in the company? A. Four gentlemen and three ladies, (right.) Q. Tell me something more about the ladies; were they married ladies or unmarried ladies? A. One was a married lady; the two others were not, (right.)

All these answers, to the astonishing correctness of which Mr. S——'s memory bore witness, were given by V—— without hesitation! She sat

erect in the chair, holding her head upright in its usual position, twisting the card about incessantly in her lap, but never raising it towards her face. It was only when the next question was asked that she appeared to hesitate and become confused.

Q. What were the ages of the two unmarried ladies? A. I can't tell exactly; one, perhaps, might be eighteen or nineteen; the other twenty-two or twenty-three. Q. You have made a mistake. If you tried again, could you not tell me their ages more correctly? A. (after a pause.) Yes; I was wrong. Why did you say *unmarried ladies*? Surely, they are still *little girls*! I should say that one was thirteen years old and the other eight. (One, as Mr. S—— informed us afterwards, was thirteen; the age of the other was six years.) Q. Was the husband of the married lady with her at the breakfast? A. I think not. (Mr. S—— signed to us that this was wrong, by shaking his head. He then waited a minute or so without asking another question. During this short delay, V—— corrected herself, and said, of her own accord, "the husband of the married lady was with her at the breakfast.")

Q. (continued.) At what part of the table were the husband and wife sitting? A. I cannot tell you. Q. Why not? A. Because the breakfast table was a round table, (right.) How can I describe people's positions at a round table? Q. Can you describe the room? Can you tell us whether it was at all like the room we are now in? A. It was so unlike that I can't compare it. Supposing I were sitting by the fireplace in the French room, as I am sitting here, the door would be in that position (pointing to the place she meant; and indicating it, as Mr. S—— said, quite correctly).

After this answer, a general wish was expressed to hear her describe the positions of the guests at the breakfast-table. The great difficulty was (as V—— had herself told us) to distinguish in any clear and certain manner, the places occupied by seven people at a round table. This was, however, completely obviated by a suggestion of the Count's, that a china basin standing on the sideboard should be placed in V——'s lap; that she should be told to consider the basin as representing the round table; and that, first supposing herself to be occupying Mr. S——'s place at the breakfast, she should describe the positions of the guests, exactly as they were ranged on either side of him. Our host's plan was adopted. At first V—— laughed excessively at the substitute for the real round table, which was deposited on her lap. She then became silent and thoughtful for a few moments; and after that, began very readily to give the required description, addressing it to Mr. S——, who sat close by her.

First, assuming to Mr. S——, as she had been bidden, that she was occupying his place at the breakfast-table, and keeping her left hand on that supposed place, she touched the rim of the basin all round with her right forefinger, at certain distinct intervals, mentioning, at each touch, the sex of the person whose position she was thus representing. In this manner she described, without a single error, the manner in which the married lady and the two little girls, present at the breakfast party, were distributed among the four gentlemen; the different places occupied by the husband and wife; and, in short, the whole arrangement of the guests at the table, exactly as Mr. S—— remembered it to have been organized! My friend was quite certain that none of his recollections on this point were in the slightest degree doubtful; for the breakfast party in question took place on the day before his departure from Paris. It was the last social gathering in the French capital at which he "assisted;" it was a more than usually pleasant meeting of friends; and he had, in consequence, the most vivid recollection of all the circumstances connected with it.

This remarkable experiment was, unfortunately, not carried any further, after V—— had concluded her description of the manner in which the breakfast party were assembled round the table. It was decided, in order to suit the convenience of one member of the company present, who could not attend on any subsequent occasion, that we should proceed at once to our next experiment, instead of deferring it to a future evening. Accordingly, after allowing V—— an interval of repose, it was secretly agreed that we should make trial of her powers of *clairvoyance* in quite a new manner, by requiring that she should behold and describe the late Sir Robert Peel. The name was written down, and she was briefly desired to exert her faculty, as usual; an empty chair having been previously magnetized, and placed before her.

At first, she saw the chair covered by the same mist which had covered the mirror on the former evening. Gradually, this mist faded, and she beheld a human form, seated in the chair. On being asked what this figure was like, she replied, to the unmeasured astonishment of every one present, that it was the figure of a young lady! No comment was made on this very unexpected result of our experiment. She was questioned in the usual manner about the person who had appeared before her. Her answers comprised the most minute description of the young lady; of her features, her complexion, her age, her dress, and even of her slightest peculiarities of physiognomy. On being asked to mention her name, V—— at once replied, "Miss S——," the sister of the Mr. S—— who was present that evening. She also informed us, that she had only once met the young lady out of doors, crossing the road, with her veil down, so that it was impossible to distinguish any of her features. The next question was the important one, and was thus expressed:—"We wished you to see the late Sir Robert Peel; why did you see, instead, the sister of Mr. S——?" She replied directly:—"Because Mr. S—— has been sitting immediately behind the empty chair which you placed before me. (This was the case.)

Mr. S— has some influence over me, in that position, close to the chair, which I cannot explain—an influence which made me think of somebody, and see somebody whom he is often accustomed to think of. I can't tell you anything more about it, except that I saw Miss S— because her brother influenced me, sitting where he now sits."

Is this answer a confirmation of the opinion I have ventured to express at the beginning of my letter? or does it only add one more mystery to the other unfathomable mysteries of clairvoyance? W. W. C.

(To be continued.)

WORK, NOT WAIT.

"Wait a little longer."—Street Song.

FULL long the promise has gone forth,
Of better times and brighter days,
When honour shall attend on worth,
And meet reward on honest ways.
The Peoples have been told to wait
Until this golden age appears.
To wait! Why, that has been their fate
For some six thousand years.

To wait is good, to wait is brave;
To wait, it is the hero's part:
But waiting never freed one slave,
Nor healed a single wounded heart.
O Poet, write thou Work for Wait,
In humble faith and active deed:
The Worker is the lord of fate;
The Man who waits still fails at need.

GEORGE HOOPER.

The Arts.

FAREWELL, DÉJAZET.

SHE has left us, the brilliant, the witty, the incomparable! Gone from our loving applause to her own *Vaucluse* public, and we shall see her no more this year! A trail of glory she has left behind her, and that crisp quick laugh will ring in our ears for some time yet. Her last week showed that the attraction of her name had increased. Two new pieces, *César et Napoleon*, and *La Douairière de Brionne*, were produced, only the latter of which could I find time to see. O Time! Time! *Edax Rerum*—eater of so many things! . . . But, at any rate, I did see *La Douairière*, and a gay, pleasant little piece it was—a fact of which you would have no conception, if you had only seen its mangled image, *Grand-mother Grizzle*. As Déjazet is fled, and no one but Déjazet could be tolerated in the part, I don't know that there is any use in telling you "all about" this piece which you cannot see; and yet, on second thoughts, remembering how a gustative sympathy reads, with water in the mouth, the minute description of a banquet which *has* taken place, I may as well say something of the piece you cannot see.

"*Quoi! maman*," exclaims the open-eyed child, in Béranget, to her garrulous grandam, whose tongue is loosened by the wine which brings back memories to her brain—"Quoi! *maman*, vous n'étiez pas sage!" You—the model of severe virtue and starched propriety! You—the terror of all giddy girls, the abomination of young men! You—lean, old, savagely virtuous, never relaxing, never laughing; to whom love seems

sin, enjoyment debauchery, mirth frivolity; whose pale and withered hand seems as if it had never clasped anything but a prayer-book; whose filmy eye looks upon this life as if its joys were all fleeting like summer shadows, its pains alone abiding. You, too, once were young! What a surprise! That lean rigidity is the urn in which are contained the ashes of a life once ebullient, once eager, once loving! That pale and withered hand furtively sought the pressure of another's; those dull, sad eyes were drooping beneath the weight of more than they could express; the pulses were quick, the heart was full, and

"Earth was fair to see,"

and beauty and youth burst forth in their eternal hymn of Love, which seemed eternal! *Quoi! maman, vous n'étiez pas sage!* Is it you, in whose presence my heart scarcely dares to beat, that I hear singing—

Combien je regrette
Mon bras si dodu,
Ma jambe bien faite
Et le temps perdu!

It is even so. The old Dowager de Brionne, who would not suffer a cork to be drawn in her house, who banished love, who banished laughter, who preached abstinence in everything but prayers, a glass of wine opens the floodgates of pent-up memories, and she astounds her grand-daughter and others by the revelations of her ancient gallantries.

Déjazet, as the frumpish old dowager, was *diabolically* virtuous, and set the person most vividly before us. Very noticeable was the fineness of her changing expressions as the wine took its effect, and the *gaillarde* re-appeared; and the audience were amazed to see Déjazet one instant the old woman, and the next transformed into the freshest and youngest of boys, bounding from the *école de marine*. But of what use is it recurring to her performance—she is gone, and I am left to sing—

Combien je regrette
Son bras si (peu) dodu,
Sa jambe bien faite
Et mon plaisir perdu!

But, after all, *il y a compensation*, as that amiable, but not very wise philosopher, M. Azais, would say. If Frétilon departs, Ruy Blas arrives; if sparkling *Vaucluse*, with its facile laugh, has quitted St. James's-street, its place is taken by sombre *Drame*, with its agonies and terrors; if Déjazet has left us, Frédéric is here!—Frédéric, *le roi du drame*, the greatest artist melodrama has ever seen—Frédéric, rightly called Lemaitre, has brought over with him a repertoire of tears and laughter, terrors and excitements, such as will shake the nerves of the fashionable audiences into something like forgetfulness of their own impassible existence.

THE MARIONETTES.

GREATLY have these puppets improved since my last visit. They walk with a majesty quite surprising, and altogether seem "at home on the stage," like many other sticks I could name. The new piece, *Poll Practice*, is a pitiable attempt at political satire. In the first place, the satirist should learn that no shaft is dangerous merely because it flies from a "twanging bow;" unless it hit the mark, of what avail is it? The corruption of electors is surely a mark large enough even for the most bungling to hit—yet Hugo Vamp shoots wide! Secondly, although one may envy the puppets their unlicensed stage, which permits them free political allusion, there is the general licence of common sense and taste, which sternly prohibits the miserable doggerel and gasping efforts at wit of such things as *Poll Practice*.

This rubbish put me in an ill-humour with the puppets, which it required all their *gentillesse* to dissipate. Mr. Simpson is heretofore entreated to abstain from satirical pieces, unless he can cajole real satirists to write them. The house was well filled, and the audience seemed to enjoy the performance. Indeed, the success of these puppets is decided.

VIVIAN.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

FRIDAY MORNING, March 5.

The vague professions of political faith that the new ministers have thus far put forth, are already beginning to excite in the commercial world an anxious and uneasy feeling, which, unless speedily allayed, threatens to exercise an unfavourable influence upon all the more important branches of trade. Meanwhile, the Funds are not only well supported, but evince a decided upward tendency, and the partisans of the ministry, of course, point triumphantly to this fact as a proof that public opinion is in their favour. A more fallacious test could not at the present moment be found, for such is the plethora of money, and so few the means of employing it safely and remuneratively, that the Funds are almost the only and inevitable resource—hence their buoyancy; and the political barometer may for the time be consulted to much more purpose in Mining Lane than on the Stock Exchange, where too heavy a counterpoise checks its ordinary fluctuations.

Consols opened on Monday at 97½ to 1, and under the influence of large purchases advanced during the week to 97½, closing, however, yesterday at 97½. Bank Stock at 218½, 219½. Exchequer Bills 62s. to 63s. premium.

In Foreign Stocks there has been much active speculation, the low priced South American Securities more particularly attracting attention.

The Railway Share Market has been very steady.

CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK LANE, March 5.—No alteration of interest has taken place in the Corn Market, but prices are very firm, and the intelligence received yesterday of the Prussian government having decreed the free admission of corn, flour, &c., until the end of August, must give further support to them.

In Colonial Produce the transactions of the week have been quite unimportant.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	219½	219	218½	218½	218½	218½
3 per Cent. Red.	98	98	98	98	98	98
3 per Cent. Cons. Ann.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
3 per Cent. Ann. 1726	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
3 per Cent. Cons. Ac.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
3½ per Cent. Ann.	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½
New 5 per Cent.	100	100	100	100	100	100
Long Ann. 1860	7	7	7	7	7	7
Ind. St. 10½ per Cent.	250	260	260	260	260	260
Ditto Bonds, £1000	73 p	73 p	72 p	72 p	75 p	75 p
Ex. Bills, £1000	63 p	64 p	64 p	62 p	63 p	63 p
Ditto, £500	63 p	64 p	64 p	62 p	63 p	63 p
Ditto, Small	63 p	64 p	64 p	62 p	63 p	63 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING THURSDAY EVENING.)

Belgian 4½ per Cents.	90½	Portuguese 5 per Cents.	35
Brazilian New Bonds.	97½	Converted, 1841	33½
1829 and 1839	97½	Sardinian 5 per Cents.	89
Danish 3 per Cents.	78½	Sardinian 5 per Cent. Acct.	89½
Danish 5 per Cents.	102	Spanish 5 per Cent. Acct.	25½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	59½	Spanish Passives	45
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	92½	Spanish 3 per Cents. Acct.	18½
Ecuador	54	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def.	18½
Granada, ex Dec. 1840	22	Spanish Cons. Certif.	2
Granada Deferred	94	Venezuela Bonds	40½
Mexican 3 per Ct. Ac.	33½	Venezuela Deferred	10
Peruvian, 1849	103½		
Peruvian Deferred	55½		

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, February 27.

BANKRUPT.—G. and T. HART, Union-street, Southwark, trimming-manufacturers, to surrender March 6, April 16; solicitors, Messrs. Reed, Langford, and Marsden, Friday-street, Cheapside; and Messrs. Sale, Worthington, and Shipman, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street.

J. NORRIS, Watford, grocer, March 6, April 16; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence, Plewa, and Boyer, Old Jewry-chambers; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street.

J. T. DENIS, Lime-street and Spur-street, Leicester-square, wine-merchant, March 9, April 6; solicitors, Messrs. Goddard and Eyre, Wood-street, Cheapside; official assignee, Mr. Johnson, Basinghall-street.

J. R. THREAGOLD, Southampton, tea-dealer, March 5, April 6; solicitor, Mr. Clark, Bishopsgate Churchyard; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings.

A. HILLS, Woodside, near Croydon, and Isle of Dogs, Poplar, oil of vitriol manufacturer, March 6, April 20; solicitors, Messrs. Freeman and Bothamley, Coleman-street; official assignee, Mr. Graham.

J. SIMMONDS, Blandford Forum, Dorset, builder, March 10, April 16; solicitors, Messrs. Venning, Navley, and Robins, Tokenhouse-yard, and Mr. Chitty, Shaftesbury; official assignee, Mr. Stansfield.

G. SENIOR, Fordingbridge, Hampshire, apothecary, March 6, April 20; solicitors, Messrs. Tilson, Clark, and Morrice, Coleman-street; and Messrs. Hoddings, Townsend, and Lee, Salisbury; official assignee, Mr. Graham.

J. WILKINS, Brighton, builder, March 6, April 10; solicitors, Mr. Sowton, Great James-street; and Mr. Kennett, Brighton; official assignee, Mr. Nicholson, Basinghall-street.

S. WILSON, Nottingham, hotel-keeper, March 5, April 2; solicitor, Mr. Parsons, Nottingham; official assignee, Mr. Birtles, Nottingham.

W. BAYNES, Leeds, flax-spinner, March 12, April 23; solicitors, Messrs. Holden and Son, Hull; and Messrs. Atkinson, Dibb, and Atkinson, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Young, Leeds.

G. GILLOT, Castleford, Yorkshire, grocer, March 15, April 5; solicitors, Messrs. Bond and Barwick, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Hope, Leeds.

J. L. HOLMES, and Y. L. MARSHALL, Sunderland, timber-merchants, March 12, April 6; solicitors, Messrs. Maples, Maples, and Searle, Frederick's-place, Old Jewry; and Messrs. Young, Harrison, and Young, Sunderland; official assignee, Mr. Baker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Tuesday, March 2.

BANKRUPT.—G. BENNETT and A. BOOTH, Long-acre, dealers in Scotch whiskey and bottled beers, to surrender March 11, April 6; solicitor, Mr. Langton, Staple-inn, Holborn; official assignee, Mr. Johnston, Basinghall-street.

W. BROMBY, Kingston-upon-Hull, maltster, March 17, April 14; solicitor, Mr. Smith, Sheffield; official assignee, Mr. Carrick, Hull.

T. BROOKES, Banbury, Oxfordshire, printer, March 16, April 20; solicitors, Messrs. Rogerson and Ford, Lincoln's-inn-Bells; and Smallbridge, Gloucester; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane.

J. DAVIES, Abergele, Denbighshire, grocer, March 12, April 3; solicitors, Messrs. Evans and Son, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Turner, Liverpool.

A. ELBOROUGH, Crescent-road, Milbank, Westminster, coal merchant, March 11, April 10; solicitor, Mr. Dale, Warrford-court, Throgmorton-street; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane.

J. ELLISON, Liverpool, ironmonger, March 16, April 6; solicitor, Mr. Toulmin, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Morgan, Liverpool.

A. B. FRASER and C. LIGHTFOOT, Lime-street, City, merchants, March 12, April 16; solicitors, Messrs. Reed and Co., Friday-street, Cheapside; and Sale and Co., Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Standfield, Basinghall-street.

F. PETTIT and T. ARGENT, Newmarket, Saint Mary, Suffolk, saddlers, March 16, April 20; solicitors, Messrs. Abbott and Co., New-inn, Strand; and Mr. Phillips, Newmarket; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sanbrook-court.

W. PEPPERLEY and J. A. CHARLTON, Sunderland-near-the-Sea, Durham, ship-builders, March 17, April 6; solicitors, Messrs. Moore and Ranson and Son, Sunderland; official assignee, Mr. Baker, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

J. F. REYER, Taunton, Somersetshire, scrivener, March 10, April 13; solicitors, Messrs. Walter, Taunton, and Stogdon, Exeter; official assignee, Mr. Hirtzel, Exeter.

J. ROGERS, Leicester, grocer, March 19, April 16; solicitors, Messrs. Toller, Leicester, and James, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Bittleston, Nottingham.

J. STAFFORD, West Smithfield, City, tailor, March 16, April 20; solicitors, Messrs. Linklater, Sise-lane, Bucklersbury; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sanbrook-court.

W. THOMAS and G. THOMAS, Aberdeen and Aberaman, Glamorganshire, grocers, March 16, April 20; solicitors, Messrs. Sole and Co., London; and Mr. Brittan, Bristol; official assignee, Mr. Acreman, Bristol.

G. TURNBULL, Colkoe, Durham, draper, March 17, April 5; solicitor, Mr. Harle, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne; official assignee, Mr. Wakley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

S. WATKINSON, Writtle, Essex, innkeeper, March 11, April 5, solicitors, Messrs. Hawkins and Co., New Boswell-court; and Messrs. Geyre and Velez, Chelmsford; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings.

J. YATES, Prescott, Lancashire, builder, March 16, April 6; solicitors, Messrs. Fisher and Stone, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Cazenove, Liverpool.

THE SHEFFIELD FREE PRESS.

published every Saturday Morning, price 4d., is now acknowledged to be the leading organ of a vast manufacturing district, including the populous towns of Sheffield, Rotherham, Barnsley, and Workop, and containing a population of about 250,000. It is attached to no sect or party, the great and distinguishing feature being a thorough and determined opposition to Centralization, and an unflinching and persevering advocacy of the great principle of Local Self-Government. The speeches of the great Magyar chief, Kossuth, will draw increased attention to this vital subject.

The other important principles of the paper are:—Abolition of the Excise and Standing Army; Monetary Reform, based on the Principle of a Self-Regulating Currency; the Gradual and Final Extinction of the National Debt; Direct Legislation, as developed by Rittinghausen; the Emancipation of Woman; Parliamentary Reform, founded on the People's Charter, &c.

The unprecedented success which has attended the journal since its establishment at the commencement of the present year, and its circulation being amongst the active, intelligent, thoughtful, and earnest classes, render it the best medium for solicitors, auctioneers, insurance offices, authors, publishers, and advertisers in general, to make their announcements public in the south of Yorkshire.

Mr. Chas. Mitchell, in the last edition of the *Newspaper Press Directory*, thus notices the *Free Press*:—"It is cleverly conducted, the reviews of new books are ably and impartially written, and there are copious details of the foreign, home, and colonial news of the week."

Free Press Office, Exchange-gateway, Sheffield, November, 1851.

ART-UNION OF LONDON.—(By Royal Charter).

Every Subscriber will have an impression of a large and costly plate of a thoroughly national character. "An English Merry-making in the Olden Time," by W. Holtz, after W.P. FRITH, A.R.A., now delivering at the Office on payment of the Subscription. Each Prizeholder will be entitled to select for himself as heretofore a Work of Art from one of the Public Exhibitions.

GEORGE GODWIN, Hon. Secretaries.

LEWIS FOCKOCK,

444, West Strand, Jan. 41, 1852.

TO THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.—

Suppose a man at the age of thirty, wishes to leave £20 to his widow, children, or any one whom he chooses, he will have to pay 10d. per month, or about the cost of one pint of beer per week, so long as he lives; but if he should die the next day after the first payment, his family will receive the £20.

Should a person be unable to continue the Assurance, the Same paid will not be forfeited as in other Offices, as he will be granted another Policy of less amount, but equivalent to the sums already paid, and exonerated from any future payments.

The Directors of the

NATIONAL PROVINCIAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY

propose to extend the benefits of Life Assurance in all its details, to all classes of the community—in fact, to the millions generally, by adapting the modes of payments to meet their views and circumstances.

The Rates of premium for every other system of Assurance, detailed Prospectuses, containing a list of the Shareholders of the Society, and every other information, will be readily afforded on application to the Secretary, at the Chief Offices of the Society, 34, Moorgate Street, Bank, London; at the Branch Offices, Queen's Chambers, Market Street, Manchester; or to any of the Agents appointed in the principal towns throughout the United Kingdom.

TRAFALGAR LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

Chief Office, 40, Pall Mall, London.

Fully subscribed capital of £250,000, by upwards of 1000 Shareholders, whose names and addresses are published with the Prospectus, guaranteeing thereby most extensive influence and undoubted responsibility.

The system adopted by this Association presents unusual advantages to every class of life assurers and annuitants. Loans are granted on personal or other securities, in connection with Life Assurance.

Applications for Prospectuses, Forms of Proposal, Agencies, and all other information respecting the general business of the Association, are requested to be made to

THOMAS H. BAYLIS, Manager.

BRITISH EMPIRE MUTUAL LIFE AND FIRE ASSURANCE OFFICES.

37, NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS.

PRINCIPLES.

1. These Societies are entirely distinct in their Funds and Management.
2. They adjust equitably the Payments and Profits of each Member.
3. And return each Member the Entire Surplus above the cost price to the Offices of his Insurance.

New Policies Issued in last 3 Years only.	LIFE.		FIRE.	
	No.	Amount.	No.	Amount.
1849	708	107,029	1503	619,978
1850	809	136,365	1650	656,425
1851	1065	211,271	1808	740,031
Total last 3 Years	2582	£355,265	5063	£2,016,434

Persons assuring in 1852 participate in the next Division of Profits.

Loans granted to Members to the full Amount of their Assurance, and the Legal Expenses paid by the Company.

W. S. GOVER, Actuary and Secretary.

PROVISION for WIDOWS and OTHERS.

at the Smallest Yearly Outlay.—Annuities are guaranteed to Widows and other Nieces, upon a plan which secures a larger income than can be obtained in any other way. Example:—A husband aged 35 can secure to his wife aged 30 an annuity of £10 at his decease, for the yearly premium during his lifetime of £1 19s. 11d., and one of £50, for £9 19s. 6d.

EAST OF ENGLAND LIFE OFFICE.

6, King William Street, Mansion House, London.

TRUSTEES AND HONORARY DIRECTORS.

The Right Hon. Lord Headley | J. Jolliffe Tuffnell, Esq.
The Right Hon. Lord Rayleigh | John Disney, Esq.
Sir John T. Tyrrell, Bart., M.P. | J. R. Spencer Phillips, Esq.
Prospectuses with full particulars may be obtained from
EDWARD BUTLER, Secretary.

INSURANCE AGAINST RAILWAY ACCIDENTS, BY THE RAILWAY PASSENGERS' ASSURANCE COMPANY.—Empowered by Special Act of Parliament (12 and 13 Vic. cap. 40).—Offices, No. 3, Old Broad Street, London.

Chairman—J. D. PAUL, Esq., 217, Strand.
Deputy-Chairman—G. B. HARRISON, Esq., 24, St. Giles Street.

TABLE OF PREMIUMS.

Tickets, insuring against accident for a single journey, whatever length, may be obtained at most railway stations, at the following rates:—

- 3d. to insure £1000, in a first-class carriage.
- 2d. to insure £500, in a second-class do.
- 1d. to insure £200, in a third-class do.

For the convenience of frequent travellers, periodical tickets are issued, which give the holder the option of travelling in any class carriage and on any railway, and may be obtained of the various Agents, or at the Offices of the Company.

To insure £1000, at an annual premium of 20s.
To insure £200, at an annual premium of 5s.
These sums to be paid to the legal representatives of the holder, in the event of fatal accident while travelling by railway, with proportionate compensation to himself in case of personal injury.

WM. JOHN VIAN, Secretary.

3, Old Broad Street, London.

ASSURANCE AGAINST EVERY KIND OF ACCIDENTAL DEATH AT SEA BY THE

MARITIME PASSENGERS ASSURANCE COMPANY,

Chief Office, 4, Moorgate Street, (near the Bank of England,) London.

Assurances granted for the Voyage by the Year, or One Payment may be made to effect an Assurance for the whole of Life. Compensation made in Cases of Personal Injury.

PREMIUMS.

For the Voyage to any Port beyond the limits of the United Kingdom, and such Foreign Ports as are situate beyond Hamburg to the North, and Brest to the South.

To assure £100 2s. 6d.
For the Voyage to any port within such limits,
To assure £100 4d.

By Annual Payment,
To assure £100 3s. 6d.

By One Payment to effect an Assurance for whole of Life,
To assure £100 15s. 0d.

Assurances are also granted at equally moderate Rates to Seamen, Boatmen, Fishermen, and others whose daily avocations render them especially liable to Marine Casualty.

Applications for Prospectuses, Assurances, Agencies, &c., to be addressed to the Chief Office, 4, Moorgate Street, London.

R. G. ERLAM, Manager.

Officers in Her Majesty's and East India Company's Services, also in the Mercantile Marine, are invited to inspect the Tables especially prepared for them by this Company.

TO DEPOSITORS AND ACTUARIES IN SAVINGS' BANKS.

A perusal is invited of the new and important plan of INDUSTRIAL LIFE ASSURANCE, which has been prepared for the purpose of extending the benefits of Life Assurance among the industrious classes. Applications for Prospectuses may be addressed to ARTHUR SCRATCHLEY, M.A., Actuary to the WESTERN LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 3, PARLIAMENT STREET, LONDON, and Author of "OBSERVATIONS ON SAVINGS' BANKS," published by J. W. Parker, 445, West Strand, London: price 5s.

EDUCATION BY THE SEA.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE, SOMERSET.

The comforts of a happy home, in this very healthy watering place, combined with a complete course of instruction in all the branches of a liberal education, imparted by the best masters, may be enjoyed by Young Gentlemen, on moderate terms, at the Rev. J. HOPKINS' Establishment, Weston Park school.

An articulated pupil is desired.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.

Particulars of the regular Monthly Mail Steam Conveyance and of the additional lines of communication, now established by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company with the East, &c. The Company book passengers, and receive goods and parcels as heretofore for CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, and HONG KONG, by their steamers, starting from SOUTHAMPTON on the 28th of every month, and from SUEZ on or about the 8th of the month.

The next extra Steamer will be despatched from Southampton for Alexandria on the 3rd of April next, in combination with an extra Steamer, to leave Calcutta on or about March 20. Passengers may be booked, and goods and parcels forwarded, by three extra steamers to or from SOUTHAMPTON, ALEXANDRIA, ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, and CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY.—The Company will book passengers throughout from Southampton to Bombay by their steamer leaving England on the 20th February, 20th March, and of alternate months thereafter, such passengers being conveyed from Aden to Bombay by their steamers appointed to leave Bombay on the 10th February, 1st of April, and 1st of alternate months thereafter, and affording, in connexion with the steamers leaving Calcutta on the 8th of February, 20th of March, and of alternate months thereafter, direct conveyance for passengers, parcels, and goods from Bombay and Western India.

Passengers for Bombay can also proceed by this Company's Steamers of the 29th of the month to Malta, thence to Alexandria by her Majesty's steamers, and from Suez by the Honourable East India Company's steamers.

MEDITERRANEAN.—MALTA.—On the 20th and 26th of every month. Constantinople.—On the 29th of the month. Alexandria.—On the 20th of the month. The rates of passage money on these lines have been materially reduced.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon, Cadiz, and Gibraltar, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of the month.

N.B.—Steam-ships of the Company now ply direct between Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and between Hong Kong and Shanghai.

For further information and tariffs of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.—

The undermentioned Associations of Journeymen of various Trades have commenced business at the addresses below given; and now call upon a fair-dealing and Christian public for the support of its custom and influence. The miseries of unemployment, the abuse of the powers of capital, having taught the working classes that union is their only strength; but painful experience has likewise shown that strength to be but wasted, for the most part, in combinations for the raising of wages, in the forced idleness of strikes. By united labour, therefore, they now seek to maintain themselves and their families; and if not always able to compete with the nominal cheapness of the dissipated or the low-priced tradesman, they hope, in the quality and workmanship of their goods, to guarantee to all customers the fullest value of their orders; whilst those who look beyond the work to the worker—who feel that custom itself has its morality, and that the working classes of England have been stunted of their due reward in money, health, knowledge, and all that makes the man, will surely rejoice in aiding a movement which tends to substitute airy workshops for dens of filth and fever-fair prices for starvation wages.—Following in division—and moral as well as practical self-government for mechanical obedience, or thraldom bitterly felt—and by the peaceful, healthy, intelligent, and gradual processes of labour to check for ever the blind and sudden struggles of want. For such men there will be scarcely a criminal or beggar, scarcely a pauper, prostitute, or drunkard, but will supply a living support for associated labour.

Working Tailors' Association, 34, Castle-street, Oxford-street.

North London Needlewomen's Association, 31, Red Lion-square.

Working Printers' Association, 4A, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.

Public Working Builders' Association, Bridge-road Wharf Buildings, Upper Tachbrook-street, and Co-operative Coal Depot, Bridge-road Wharf, Pimlico.

North London Working Builders' Association, 4, All Saints-place, Caledonian-road.

Working Pianoforte Makers' Association, 5, Charles-street, Drury-lane.

City Working Tailors' Association, 23, Cullum-street, Fenchurch-street.

Working Shoemakers' Association, 11, Tottenham-court-road.

PROVINCIAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Southampton Working Tailors' Association, 18, Berners-street, Southampton.

Salford Working Hatters' Association, 12, Broughton-road, Salford, Manchester.

Central Office of the London Working Men's Association, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

Read the "Journal of Association," published Weekly, price One Penny. J. J. Bezer, 183, Fleet-street.

IMPORTANT TO MANUFACTURERS, MERCHANTS, PATENTEES, INVENTORS, & OTHERS.

CITY OF LONDON EXHIBITION AND COMMISSION SALE ROOMS, WEAVERS' HALL, 22, BASINGHALL STREET, LONDON.

R. TIDMARSH (Commission Agent) begs to call the attention of the above classes to his Extensive Show and Commission Rooms (in the heart of the City), where he exhibits and takes orders for the Goods, Wares, Models, and Fabrics of Manufacturers, Merchants, and Artisans, and obtains orders at the best possible cash price for all articles sent for sale, and, having an extensive connexion amongst Engineers, Railroad Proprietors, Contractors, Exporters, Merchants, and Traders in general, he has every means of effecting speedy sales, and, in general, he describes, on very moderate terms, with punctuality and dispatch, and solicits Manufacturers and others to send their Articles either for Show or Sale immediately, and avail themselves of this great desideratum, to whom it will, on application, send full particulars of his terms. If, by trust, by strict attention and punctuality to all parties, he is enabled to maintain, and invites the public to an inspection of the Stock on Show of Machinery, Agricultural and Garden Implements, Corn Screens, Hop-packing Machines, Sky and Garden Lights, Sugar-Chopping Machines, Mills, Beer and Spirit Preservers, House and Garden Protectors against Thieves, Embossing Machines, Railway Signals and Buffers, Vapour Baths, New Mode of Flat Roofing, Saddlery, and Harness, and a quantity of Machines and Implements for most Trades, on improved principles.

N.B. Goods warehoused till sold, &c.

THE ATHENÆUM INSTITUTE For Authors and Artists,

30, SACKVILLE STREET, LONDON.

Every companionship of men requires some particular bonds of union; some natural basis and some common object which induce concentration; and the promoters of this undertaking have based their arrangements on the peculiar position and circumstances of Literary Men and Artists.

In dealing with mental workers, that is, men who are more interested in the works themselves which they pursue than in the commercial results, it became peculiarly necessary to adopt special arrangements. The presence of men of letters and artists is sufficient with commercial men to attract attention and command support. Literary men, as it is well known, regard themselves particularly ignorant of figures and calculations, and they have neither the confidence nor the caution, as regards pecuniary transactions, of business men. To such a class the common appeals fall dead; and, while Lawyers and Doctors, Clergymen and Tradesmen, and even Soldiers and Sailors, have founded Associations and Assurance Offices, the Literary Men have gone listlessly on, united by no common bond, and aided by no mutual Institutions. The true reason of this is, that every literary and artistic man passes through an ordeal that teaches him to be entirely self-reliant; and the very moderation of his desires induces him to endure evil which business men have been habituated to avoid or overcome. Of business men there are duties of life there can be no doubt; and there can be no impediment, but their own want of resolution, to their founding a noble Institution.

Most of the evils suffered by Literary Men arise from their not being organized as a profession. The barrister and the doctor, the clergyman and the military and naval officers, have the advantages of an established profession; they have their associations and institutions; their rank is definitely settled; their united efforts have a national importance; and the road to social honours is smoothed and opened to them.

Yet Literature and Art are professions—distinct callings, and have the fullest right, from the mental cultivation and natural endowments of their professors, to be ranked among the liberal professions. Our country alone demands that six or seven hundred volumes, in the shape of newspapers, be published every week; the literature of past times and of foreign regions, adapted to our tastes, are clamorously demanded by a reading nation; and educational and professional works are in constant demand. Every transaction of life passes under the pen of the author, or is illustrated by the artist; and every species of authorship is in demand.

If it is asked, What are the advantages of a profession? we can only ask in reply, What are the advantages of association? which we take to be so numerous that we cannot venture to recapitulate them here. The advantages of an organized profession may be seen in the law; which, mighty as it now is, penetrating all the offices of the state, and the machinery of the Government, yet in the Third Edward's time was not in existence, the professors of this branch of learning being then, and even subsequently, as vaguely situated as the professors of literature are at the present day. When they became organized, royal bounty bestowed houses and lands on them; and noble persons made endowments; and now the glory of the present is reflected on the past; their rank is recognised in society, and they are a class almost especially set apart to receive honours and offices.

If it be objected, that the genius of past times is different to our own; that may be admitted, and yet the advantages of organizing literature into a profession not be impugned. The advantages of, and inducements to, association, for, association increases with increasing civilization; and to repudiate this advantage, when all other classes are eagerly seeking it, is to neglect our own, and cause it to descend in the social scale.

To effect some reform in such an anomalous state, though on so sufficient basis, seems to have occurred to many literary men. In general, however, these efforts have proceeded no further than the founding an alms-fund; whilst the most important object should be, to found such an institution as would cement the interests of the class, and ultimately lead to the organizing literature as a profession. The literary man may feel grateful for benevolent intentions, but his pride and self-respect should lead him rather to elevate and consolidate the corps to which he belongs, in the same effective manner that has characterised the proceedings of the lawyers.

It seemed to the promoters of the present Institution, that in order to effect this object it was necessary to form an Institution that would call forth the efforts of the literary man on his own behalf; and collect into a corporate body the professors of literature and art; and for this purpose the Athenæum Institute is founded.

To the extraneous aid of the possessors of rank and wealth, we are aware objections are made; but, though they are without cogency, they do not seem to us conclusive. We think literature has a right to ask the assistance of these other two great powers of society, because it so materially assists them, and because in many of its branches it has no other mode of being paid by society. The severely scientific, the highly imaginative, the profoundly legislative authors, do not produce promptly marketable, though they produce priceless works. La Place, Wordsworth, Bentham, could not have existed had they depended on the first product of their works; they would have perished before an acknowledging world had given them bread. Yet their works have made the fortunes and the reputation of legislators and capitalists, and refined the minds of princes and peers.

The teachers of a nation, and the moulders of the national sentiment, should be cared for as much as those who make and administer its laws. For these reasons, Literature may seek an honourable alliance with Rank and Wealth, and receive their aid without degradation and without subservience. It is desirable that the three important powers come to a liberal and mutual understanding. Literature, science, and art, have done everything for civilization; and it is time that these three powers should do something for those whose very position prevents their amassing the ordinary returns of skill and labour.

The humblest literary man works for something more than hire; and produces something more effective than a mere piece of merchandise. His book is not only sold to the profit of the bookseller, but to the benefit of the public. The publisher pays for its mercantile value, but the public should reward the author for its moral and social value, as they take upon themselves to punish if it have an evil tendency.

The Institution now proposed, it is hoped, will meet the two important points of the case, and reconcile the claims of literature and art on national assistance, with that self-supporting independence which should characterise all intellectual men.

The following Gentlemen have kindly consented, on its formal and legal establishment, to become—

VICE-PRESIDENTS.
THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD JUSTICE KNIGHT BRUCE, &c.
THE RIGHT HON. BENJAMIN DISRAELI, M.P., &c.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE.
The following Gentlemen have undertaken to act in an honorary capacity as an Initiative Committee.

BAYLE BERNARD, Esq. THORNTON HUNT, Esq.
SHIRLEY BROOKS, Esq. O. H. LAWES, Esq.
J. B. BUCKSTONE, Esq. F. G. P. NICHOLS, Esq., F.L.S.
STIRLING COYNE, Esq. ANGUS B. REACH, Esq.
F. G. TOMLINS, Esq., (Provisional Manager.)
With power to add to the number.

OBJECTS.

The Institute to consist of Four Branches:—1. A PROTECTIVE SOCIETY.—2. A PHILANTHROPIC AND PROVIDENT FUND.—3. AN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—4. A LIFE ASSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

1. THE PROTECTIVE DEPARTMENT will take cognizance of legislative measures affecting Literary and Artistic interests; and by inducing co-operation amongst the members, would be enabled to produce the beneficial effect attendant on professional organization—a main object with the Institute. This branch, following the example of the Dramatic Authors' Society, contemplates protection of the rights of members in transactions relating to the property of their works; and, when fully organized and established, might, in particular cases, undertake the negotiation of agreements for members, and act in the capacity of agents, under certain regulations, which will be more specially settled and detailed in the regulations and by-laws of the Institute.

2. THE PHILANTHROPIC AND PROVIDENT DEPARTMENT will provide Annuities to necessitous Members—make provision for the destitute WIDOWS and ORPHANS of Members—grant aid to sustain the annual payments of policies,—and exercise such other philanthropic functions as the governing body may deem desirable. Such aid being understood in all cases to apply only to deserving and necessitous members. The details of this portion of the plan will be more particularly defined in the Laws of the Institute.

3. THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT will educate, board, and lodge the Children of Members at an exceedingly advantageous rate, though not gratuitously, except in the case of destitute Orphans, or other cases. This branch would be mainly supported from the philanthropic funds, and, doubtless, the admirers and supporters of literature would largely aid this portion of the Institute. Members would be entitled to its advantages, under the rules and regulations more especially set forth in the general laws of the Institute.

4. THE LIFE ASSURANCE DEPARTMENT is established for the purpose of promoting provident arrangements amongst the Members, and the ultimate formation of a CAPITAL FUND. In furtherance of these objects, an advantageous arrangement has been made with THE ATHENÆUM LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, by which the Institute will add to its income by saving considerable expenses, and, at the same time, have at its disposal a valuable portion of the profits of the Life Society for philanthropic distribution amongst the necessitous Members of the Institute. In return for these advantages, it will be greatly to the interest of the Members to insure in the Athenæum Office; and the Institute will, to the utmost of its power, promote insurance therein, as one of the most beneficial forms in which Authors and Artists can provide for themselves and their families.

ADDITIONAL OBJECTS.

The other objects of the Institute will manifest themselves in the course of its operations. It is here sufficient to specify generally the results aimed at.

By means of assurance, the most advantageous modes of securing annuities in old age; and the Endowment of Children with sums of money, either for fees for professions or businesses, or to start them when of age, or on marriage, will be presented in various shapes.

The application of sums assured will also be placed so much at the disposal of the assured that he may change it into an Annuity, or even a present sum of money.

It may also be desirable hereafter to introduce a Banking principle, so as to induce parties, by way of deposit, to invest small sums, on which they may receive a larger interest than in the Government Savings' Banks, and which it is hoped may to a certain extent be applied to the payment of annual Premiums and other provident purposes.

As the monies derived from works of Literature and Art are received at uncertain times and in uncertain amounts, it is proposed that any Assurer, instead of paying his premium on a certain day, may have an account opened and pay in any amount, more or less, when he receives money—perhaps £5 at one time, £50 at another, all which shall be carried to his account, and at certain times be settled as to its appropriation; allowing, either by an increased amount of principal or by regular interest, an ample profit to the depositor.

The assistance of the Institute will also be given as to the best mode of realizing property, and legal advice afforded on any such occasion, so that the utmost value may be obtained.

It is not improbable also that, in some cases, money can be advanced on literary agreements, or engagements, or convertible securities, on such business principles as shall not interfere with the profits of the whole of the assurers; and thus embrace the advantages now proffered by Loan Societies on not very advantageous terms.

The Institute, in a word, will seek to stand in relation to every Literary man and Artist connected with it as a security, and a friendly assistant, as regards worldly and pecuniary affairs; in which he may confide with advantage. It will be governed by men of eminence and reputation, and the business part by gentlemen in whom every reliance may be placed, so that no private particulars shall escape.

GOVERNMENT.

A PRESIDENT of the highest social rank.
VICE-PRESIDENTS—Exalted members of society, who will have the option of acting as Honorary Directors.

HONORARY DIRECTORS—Authors and Artists of the most distinguished position, who would be Trustees and Governors of the Philanthropic Fund.

BUSINESS DIRECTORS—Authors of repute. A Manager whose duty it would be to work the system in all its branches. The Manager and Directors to be paid as such officers usually are.

CONSTITUTION.

The Institute will consist of two classes of supporters, the Professors and the Encouragers of Literature and Art.

It will also be divided into two classes of Subscribers: the Philanthropic Subscribers and the Provident Subscribers; and will be otherwise distinguished as Non-Participants and Participants in the philanthropic portion of the scheme.

NON-PARTICIPATING SUBSCRIBERS are supposed to include the following:—The Royal Family and Great Officers of the State, on account of the political and moral influence of Authors. Noblemen who have manifested a marked predilection for Literature and the Arts. Men of Fortune interested in Literature and Art.

Authors of Fortunes, from philanthropic motives, would aid the Institute. Publishers, Printers, Stationers, and others whose fortunes are derived from the labours of authors and artists.

PARTICIPATING SUBSCRIBERS include—Professional Authors, consisting of that mass of writers who produce the current Literature of the age in Works of Science, Imagination, Education,

and the vast periodical and newspaper press of the Empire. Professional Artists, including all who obtain their living by the exercise of the Fine Arts in all their variety.

REVENUE.

The revenue will be derived chiefly from two sources—the Subscriptions of the Non-Participants and the Participants; but there would be other sources of income, as hereinafter specified.

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS OF THE NON-PARTICIPATING CLASS will be applied in a novel manner by means of Life Assurance, so as to produce a large CAPITAL FUND, which shall be gradually available to the philanthropic purposes of the Institute. Thus whatever sums are subscribed by the Encouragers and Admirers of Literature and Art, will be applied to assure the lives of such non-participating Subscriber, or any acceptable life to be nominated.

It is considered that the admirers and encouragers of Literature and Art will thus be induced to subscribe liberally to a fund which they will see accumulating into sufficient amounts to be of permanent service to the classes they desire to benefit.

In order to meet the circumstances of the case, the NON-PARTICIPATING Subscribers will be separated into the following divisions, and would contribute, as it will be seen, in different degrees.

THE FIRST DIVISION OF NON-PARTICIPATING SUBSCRIBERS.—The Royal Family, the Nobility and Men of Fortune, would be asked to subscribe, so that their Lives, or Lives to be nominated, might be assured for any sum not less than one hundred pounds, which principal sum should go to the Capital Fund of the Association at their decease. This class would have the option of nominating a Life, or the Institute of choosing one.

THE SECOND DIVISION OF NON-PARTICIPATING SUBSCRIBERS, consisting of the successful and propertied Authors, and others who are interested in, or who sympathise with literature, would be excited, it has been calculated that by the method proposed they might choose to nominate, at the annual premiums, giving the profits to the Institute, but not the sum assured.

Annual Subscriptions thus applied would gradually create a CAPITAL FUND to be at the disposal of the Institute for beneficial purposes.

Previous to making any estimate as to the probable capital that might be thus amassed, it is necessary to assume an average age of the supposed Subscribers; and 40 is thought to be a fair one—which, taking the rates of the Athenæum, or any other unimpeachable Office, would give a premium of about Three per cent. That is, for every three guineas a year subscribed there would on the average be £100 assured.

Thus, if the Crown, taking the Assurance at the average age, were to subscribe to this Institute of the Authors and Artists of the country the same sum generally presented annually to each of the Dramatic Funds, namely, £100, the Institute would be ultimately benefited to the amount of £3333 6s. 8d.

Although it is impossible to state what subscriptions could be derived from the contributions of the great and wealthy, yet it is necessary to postulate some amount; and, after a due consideration of the munificence they display when their sympathies are excited, it has been calculated that by the method proposed the following amounts might be ultimately obtained towards the assistance of the professors of Literature and Art.

1 at £100 per year would produce at the death of the party so subscribing	3,333 6 8
10 at £50 per year	16,666 13 4
60 at £30 per year	80,000 0 0
50 at £15 per year	25,000 0 0
100 at £5 per year	20,000 0 0
100 at £3 per year	10,000 0 0
Total capital ultimately accruing	£125,000 0 0

The advantage of appropriating the Subscriptions to the Assurance of Sums, that will ultimately drop in to the benefit of the Institute, is, that PROVIDED THE PHILANTHROPIC PORTION OF THE SCHEME DO NOT PROSPER, THE POLICIES WILL REMAIN FOR THE BENEFIT OF THOSE SUBSCRIBING.

By this plan, those who sympathise with Literature and Art would be gradually testing the scheme, and thus would not be risking their money on an unsuccessful attempt. There are, doubtless, many noble minded and wealthy individuals who would subscribe largely to any method that would permanently benefit the workers in Literature and Art; and there may be reckoned still more who would give their subscriptions in a mode such as proposed, by which they could gradually test the result of their liberality; and who might conscientiously compound, as it were, for all claims of a like nature.

A handsome Annual Subscription to the Institution would be a fair answer to all private solicitations.

THE SUBSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARTICIPATING CLASS would consist of Annual Contributions of not less than a Guinea. It is hoped, however, that in consideration of the beneficial purposes of the Institute, that the amount of the annual subscription would be in accordance with the means of the Subscriber; and in case of relief being required, some regard would be had to the amount bestowed by the claimant on the Institution, and the number of votes would be regulated by the sum subscribed, each guinea carrying a vote. Such subscription, provided the Subscriber came within the Institute's definition of Author or Artist, would constitute Membership, and would admit to the right of participating in "The Philanthropic and Provident Fund," "The Protective Branch," "The Educational Department," and the other rights and privileges of the Institute. The particulars of which will be specified in the laws of the Institute.

In addition to the two foregoing sources of revenue, there would also be the following:—

Annual Dinners, Dramatic Performances, and the Donations of marketable Copyrights, or the joint production of an Annual Work, to which the contributions would be gratuitous.

One of the chief objects being to create a corporate feeling, and to establish a professional association, there can be little doubt that Donations and Endowments would in time be bestowed upon the Institute as they ever have on all similar Institutions.

The profits arising from the Life Assurance Department would also afford means of revenue, as the silent accumulations thus obtained are much greater than those not accustomed to deal with them imagine.

In time, also, the annual interest of the Capital Fund would form a large item of revenue.

The transactions of the Agency and Protective departments would also yield some profit; and altogether it will be seen that if the scheme be only moderately carried out, a very handsome income would accrue to the Institute.

In conclusion, the object of the Institute is to afford to Authors and Artists the advantages arising from EXTENSIVE CO-OPERATION; and it is highly desirable so large a class should make an effort to thus benefit themselves. To secure success, nothing is wanting but a hearty determination on the part of those most interested in producing such a result. It is the united effort of the Institute that produces the magnificent results shown in the various Commercial and Philanthropic Institutions of the Empire, and it is earnestly urged that Authors and Artists should take advantage of their numbers. Nothing can be accomplished without numbers—with them everything.

The appeal now made is universal in its application to intellectual workers, and it is hoped it will be responded to so as to neutralise all cliques, whether arising from literary sectarianism, or the antagonism of political sentiments.

* * * Communications to be made to the Provisional Manager, 30, Sackville-street, London, or any of the Provisional Committee.

Prospectuses may also be had of Mr. Charles Mitchell, Agent to the Institute, Newspaper Press Directory Office, 12, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London.

NATIONAL ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.

At a MEETING of the Council and Friends of the late League, held this day, March 2, 1852, in the Large Room, Newall's Buildings, Manchester:

GEORGE WILSON, Esq., in the Chair.

It was moved by Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P.; seconded by Robert Ashton, Esq., of Hyde, and carried unanimously:—

That an administration having been formed committed by every pledge that can bind the honour of public men to attempt to reimpose a duty on corn, it is resolved that the Anti-Corn Law League be reconstituted, under the rules and regulations by which that body was formerly organized.

It was moved by the Right Hon. T. Milner Gibson, M.P.; seconded by James Heywood, Esq., M.P.; and carried unanimously:—

That the council of the League be requested to put themselves into immediate communication with their friends in all parts of the kingdom, urging them to immediate action to prevent the return to parliament of candidates in favour of the re-enactment, under whatever pretence or form, of any duty upon the importation of foreign corn.

It was moved by John Bright, Esq., M.P.; seconded by T. Bazley, Esq.; and carried unanimously:—

That, considering how essential it is to the welfare of the agricultural, manufacturing, colonial, and shipping interests, as well as to the peace and prosperity of the great body of the people, that the free-trade question should be permanently settled by an appeal to the country, resolved that a memorial to the Queen, praying for an immediate dissolution of parliament, be signed by the chairman, on behalf of this meeting, and transmitted for presentation to her majesty.

To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.

May it please your Majesty.—We, your Majesty's loyal and devoted subjects, conscious of the earnest solicitude which your Majesty feels for the welfare and happiness of your people, and impressed with a deep sense of the danger which now threatens the security of those great measures of commercial policy which during the last four years have conducted so greatly to the prosperity and social contentment of all classes of your Majesty's subjects, have seen with distrust and apprehension the accession to power of a Government pledged by all the obligations of personal honour and public duty to attempt the restoration of odious restrictions on the trade and industry of this country.

That your memorialists, whilst recording their solemn and emphatic protest against any and every attempt to re-impose, in whatever shape, taxes on the food of the people, are firmly persuaded that an overwhelming majority of the British people are, by every constitutional means, prepared to resist and defeat such a policy, as an unjust and dangerous aggression on the rights of industry, the freedom of trade and commerce, and the social welfare and domestic happiness of the great mass of your Majesty's subjects.

That your memorialists believe that doubt and uncertainty on this subject are calculated to disturb and jeopardise all trading and industrial operations; to keep alive a spirit of agitation and restlessness throughout your Majesty's dominions; to foment false hopes, and foster injurious apprehensions; and that every sound maxim of state policy demands an immediate and decisive settlement of a question fraught with such manifold elements of disunion and disquietude to all the great interests of the nation.

Your memorialists therefore would loyally and respectfully beseech your Majesty not to suffer the interests of your subjects to be postponed to the exigencies of a temporizing administration, or any party difficulties that may exist; and that every maxim of constitutional policy; but that your Majesty, in the just exercise of your royal prerogative, would cause the great issue now pending between the responsible advisers of the crown and the people at large, to be forthwith and finally determined by a speedy dissolution of parliament.

And your memorialists will ever pray.

It was moved by Henry Ashworth, Esq.; seconded by James Kershaw, Esq., M.P.

That in order to carry out the above resolutions, a subscription be forthwith commenced, and that a call not exceeding ten per cent. upon all subscriptions of 10*l.* and upwards be made; subscriptions under that amount to be paid in full.

GEORGE WILSON, Chairman.

It was moved by James Heywood, Esq., M.P.; seconded by Alexander Henry, Esq., M.P.; and carried unanimously:—

That the best thanks of this meeting are due, and are hereby given, to George Wilson, Esq., for his able conduct in the chair.

JOHN BRIGHT, Chairman.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Robert Platt, Stalybridge	1000	0	0
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Hibberts and Alcock, Godley	250	0	0
Thomas Turton and Sons, Sheffield	250	0	0
James Hodgkinson, Bolton	250	0	0
Thomas Roberts, Manchester	200	0	0
John Goodair, Preston	200	0	0
John Hawkins, Preston	200	0	0
William Bickham, Manchester	200	0	0
William Widding, Padiham	200	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Manchester Examiner and Times	200	0	0
James Procter, Manchester	200	0	0
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Robert Stuart, Manchester	200	0	0
William Schofield, Littleborough	150	0	0
William Woodcock, Cotton Court	100	0	0
John Marshall, Horsforth Hall, near Leeds	100	0	0
Thomas Johnson, 39, Hanging Ditch	100	0	0
John Wilkinson, Gilehead Mount, Leeds	100	0	0
Alexander Kay, Bowdon	100	0	0
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William Bradford, Manchester	100	0	0
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